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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CHIAPAS AND GUATEMALA: CONTRASTING SYSTEMS OF CONTEMPORARY INDIAN TRADE

by

© STUART J. BALDWIN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

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SPRING, 1980

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Chiapas and Guatemala: Contrasting Systems of Contemporary Indian Trade submitted by Stuart J. Baldwin in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Ruth Gruhn
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Date 25 April 1980

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND DISCUSSION OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

The problem addressed by this thesis consists of two main concerns: (1) the synthesis of available ethnographic and historical materials relating to Indian trade in the Chiapas Highlands from ca. A.D. 1820 to the present, with the goal of defining the system of Indian trade and delineating changes within that system during the stated time period; and (2) the comparison of this system of Indian trade with the contemporaneous system of Indian trade in the Guatemalan Highlands. Essentially, then, this thesis is a heuristic or exploratory study intended to synthesize, systematize, and compare previously existing knowledge. The ultimate goal is to provide a firm basis for future problem-oriented field and archival research.

In the course of this study no fieldwork was undertaken, although the author briefly visited both the Chiapas and Guatemalan Highlands in the summer of 1973 - previous to the proposal and problem definition of this study. An application for funding for archival research was made, but was unsuccessful. Hence, this study contains only such field and archival data as have been previously published.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem as stated above was not the problem with which I started. My initial problem statement covered a subject slightly broader in space and greatly broader in time: an ethnohistorical summary on Indian trade in Chiapas and Guatemala from the time of the Spanish Conquest (ca. A.D. 1520) to the present. Unfortunately this was altogether too large for successful treatment.

There were several stumbling blocks rendering the initial problem statement unrealistic: (1) while there are guiding studies of trade for the Guatemalan Highlands (e.g., McBryde 1947 and C. Smith 1972), no such study is available for Chiapas; instead (2) there is a huge and ever-growing volume of ethnographic literature on the Chiapas Highlands within which tidbits of information on Indian trade are scattered far and wide; and (3) aside from a handful of major published documents, the historical literature relevant to Indian activities remains buried in the various archives. It became clear to me that an initial necessary step was the synthesis of information on contemporary Indian trade. This "initial step" has proven to be a major task in itself, one which has absorbed most of my allotted time and forced the radical redefinition of the problem which has occurred.

Yet, while the present problem does not have the sweep and grandeur of my original proposal, I believe it produces results sufficiently important to validate my concentration of effort within its more limited scope.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The post-1820 historical literature is sparse as regards direct information on Indian activities, with the only major exceptions being documentation of Indian revolts, such as the 1869 Cuscat Rebellion in Chiapas. During the 1800s occasional glimpses of Indian activities are given in travelers' accounts, but these are sporadic and of very limited value. The first ethnographic accounts derive from hurried trips through Chiapas and Guatemala by Frederick Starr in 1896 and 1901.[1] Detailed ethnographic work does not begin until the 1920s, with the 1925 exploring expedition led by Frans Blom and Oliver La Farge and the subsequent ethnographic studies conducted by La Farge and Douglas Byers in the Cuchumatanes area of Guatemala. Chiapas was ignored for the most part during the 1930s, but in Guatemala major ethnographic work was accomplished by Oliver La Farge, Felix Webster McBryde, Sol Tax, Ruth Bunzel, Charles Wagley, Raymond Stadelman, and others. The first major work in Chiapas was undertaken between 1942 and 1944 by a group of Mexican and American students led by Sol Tax and Alfonso Villa Rojas, including Ricardo Pozas, Calixta Guiteras Holmes, and Fernando Cámara Barbachano. Also in the 1940s, in Guatemala, Manning Nash conducted his well-known study of Cantel and Maud Oakes her study of Todos Santos Cuchumatán. During the 1950s and to the present ethnographic work in Chiapas has exploded, chiefly under the impetus of the Harvard Chiapas Project led by Evon Z. Vogt, and includes work by Vogt, Frank Cancian, June Nash, Benjamin Colby, Pierre van den Berghe, George Collier, Henning Siverts, and many others. In addition, archeological work conducted in Chiapas since the 1950s by the New World Archaelogical Foundation has led to ethnographic and ethnohistorical work by Carlos Navarrete and Norman Thomas. In Guatemala, although with a slower start, there is also a new flowering of work by Robert Hinshaw, Harry McArthur, Rubén Reina, Carol Ann Smith, Waldemar Smith, Robert Carmack, and many others.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIETY, EXCHANGE AND TRADE

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the presentation of the points-of-view, definitions, models, and typologies which are used in this study. To accomplish this in a coherent fashion, the perspectives are divided into three levels of ever-narrowing concern: society, exchange and trade. (Of necessity, the following discussion assumes a basic knowledge of the ethnographic background of Chiapas and Guatemala; see Chapter 3.)

PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIETY

I characterize my general approach in this study as humanistic, empirical, and with an emphasis on exchange. Humanistic, because the primary emphasis is not on the goods and services being exchanged (although they must receive considerable attention) but on the people and human institutions engaged in the exchanges. Empirical, because

I have intentionally emphasized the primacy of data over a priori classifications, models, etc.; i.e., if the models do not fit the data, then the models must be either modified or scrapped - Maier's Law has no place in this study.[2] The final characteristic is obvious: a study of trade must focus primarily on exchange relationships.

A general perspective on society which I attempt to maintain throughout the study is that any society or culture is a system, wherein the arbitrarily defined components or segments of the society are in reality linked in many ways - some of which may not be predictable at the outset of the study.

PERSPECTIVES ON EXCHANGE

In order to clearly distinguish "trade" from other forms of exchange there is a need for the presentation here of some sort of model of exchange and set of definitions.

First, I accept this following definition of "model":

> Model ... in science, a simplified scheme or structure that corresponds part for part with some complex process, system, or structure and is used to explain its operation.
> (Paikaday 1970:439)

I consider "exchange" to be a process and offer my own definition, as follows: exchange is the process of transfer between two or more individuals or groups of some material item, service, or intangible influence wherein the transfer may be considered to be reciprocal (two-way) and in some way beneficial to all parties involved. An exchange between two parties is not necessarily equal in value, voluntary, or simultaneous in time. Indeed, a particular transfer may not be viewed as an exchange by both parties; for example, the victim of a protection racket or of blackmail may feel that he is "being robbed," but it may be argued that he does receive a benefit for his money (physical or social safety), however involuntary or reluctant he is to enter into the exchange. In contrast, theft is definitely not exchange as the victim of the transfer receives absolutely nothing in return.

In recent years there has been an increasing use of formal models in anthropology, but relatively little development of models of exchange - despite the increasing concern with trade. Essentially, there are two models in general use: that advanced by Polanyi (1957), and various minor modifications of Polanyi's model, and that advanced by Sahlins (1972) - which is itself based on Polanyi's model but constitutes a major reworking of Polanyi's concepts.[3] I cannot accept Sahlins' model as it includes transfers such as theft ("negative reciprocity") which I do not accept as being included within exchange, as I have defined it. Polanyi's model, as originally presented, I do not consider adequate and some of his definitions are inconsistent or can be empirically invalidated; however, I have taken it as a starting point and have modified it to the point where I believe that I have a model both adequate for the purposes of this study and of potentially broader application.

My model of exchange is illustrated in Figure 1. It is composed

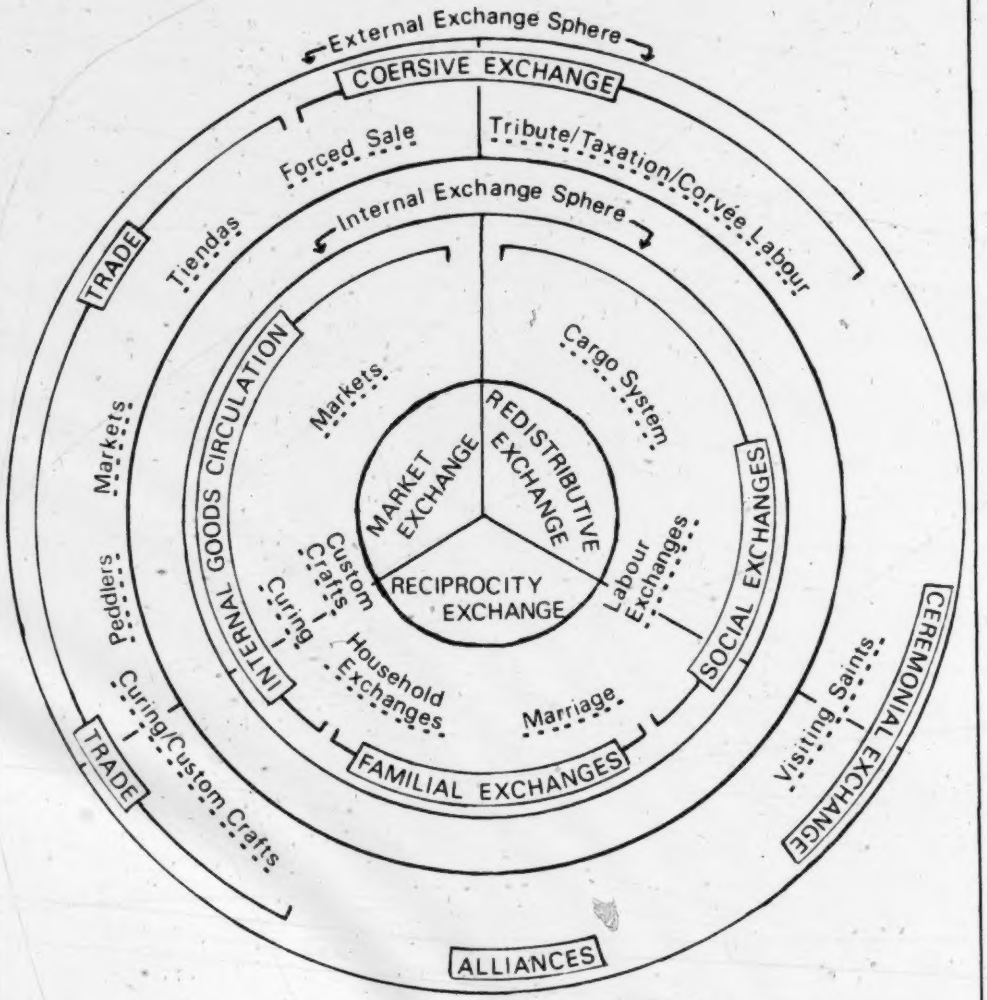

External Exchange Sphere
COERSIVE EXCHANGE
Forced Sale
Tribute/Taxation/Corvée Labour
Internal Exchange Sphere
TRADE
Tiendas
Markets
Peddlers
Curing/Custom Crafts
TRADE
INTERNAL GOODS CIRCULATION
Markets
Custom Crafts
Curing
Household Exchanges
MARKET EXCHANGE
REDISTRIBUTIVE EXCHANGE
RECIPROCITY EXCHANGE
Cargo System
SOCIAL EXCHANGES
Labour Exchanges
Marriage
FAMILIAL EXCHANGES
CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE
Visiting Saints
ALLIANCES

Figure 1: Model of Exchange

of two cross-cutting elements: (a) the Exchange Relationships[4] and (b) the Exchange Spheres. There are three exchange relationships:

a) Reciprocity Exchange: This exchange relationship includes two types of transfers: sharing and complementary division of labour.[5] Both may be seen in the extended family where there is a complementary division of labour between husband and wife and where there is a sharing of milpa labour (and its fruits) between father and son. Sharing can also be seen in labour exchanges between neighbours, as in field clearing. Some forms of reciprocity exchange may be informal, others may be highly formalized - as in marriages, formal gifts, and political alliances. Reciprocity exchanges may be characterized as personal and symmetrical. However, they are not necessarily equal in value: inequalities in the actual exchanges may be balanced out by status differences. Reciprocity exchanges are institutionalized in kinship units (e.g., the extended family), in residence units (e.g., the paraje), or individual relationships (e.g., friendships).

b) Redistributive Exchange: This exchange relationship is essentially one kind of transfer: the centralized collection and expenditure of goods, services or intangible influence. The collection may be made from the community at large (as in a money contribution by each household) or from selected individuals (as in the offices of the cargo system), but the expenditure is (at least in theory) for the benefit of the whole community. The exchanges vary from the personal (e.g., personal service in cargo system offices) to the impersonal (e.g., money contributions), may be symmetrical or non-symmetrical, and equal or unequal. The essential characteristic is the collective or centralized nature of the exchanges.[6]

c) Market Exchange[7]: This exchange relationship is also essentially one kind of transfer: a two-party exchange based on a standard of comparison: the "price." The essential characteristic is equality of value, either set or negotiated, between the items exchanged. Often there is a medium of exchange (money) which exists for use as the standard for comparison of items to be exchanged. A gathering of individuals and/or groups engaged in such exchanges is called a "market," and the location of this gathering a "market place" (often shortened down to "market").

It should be noted that sharp boundaries do not occur between the three exchange relationships: they blend into each other, and some institutions or forms of exchange straddle the boundaries - hence the depiction of the three relationships as a circular diagram in Figure 1.

Cross-cutting the three exchange relationships are the two exchange spheres[8]:

a) The Internal Exchange Sphere: This comprises all exchanges occurring within the boundaries of a society, for instance within the boundaries of a single Highland Maya society.

b) The External Exchange Sphere: This includes all exchanges occurring between societies (actually, between individuals and groups from the different societies). This distinction of internal and external exchange spheres is based upon Polanyi's (1957:257-258) definition of trade as "external to the group," and the consequent need to define "the group" or unit of analysis to be used. In this study "the group" is the Indian society (also called community) briefly described in Chapter 3.

PERSPECTIVES ON TRADE

Definition of Trade

During the past two decades considerable interest in trade in Mesoamerica has been shown by archeologists dealing with prehistoric periods and by ethnohistorians dealing with the Conquest-period Aztecs. One might expect, then, that some consensus on a definition of trade would have been reached; however this is not the case, as has been ably demonstrated by Dillon (1975:81-82). Not only is there no consensus, but there have been few attempts to provide any sort of precise definition of trade for use in either prehistoric or historical contexts - instead, the term has retained a broad, nebulous, and often contradictory range of application. This conclusion is also true of the term's usage in anthropological literature generally.[9]

Returning to Polanyi, one finds that he defines trade as "a relatively peaceful method of acquiring goods" which is "external to the group" but is principally distinguished from hunting and raiding by "the two-sidedness of the movement" (1957:257-258). However, later in his article he adds restrictions and characterizations which make it clear that he is only considering large-scale transfers between state-level societies. These addenda render his definition useless for my purposes.

My definition of trade is a refined version of Polanyi's original statement: trade is the exchange of goods and services between individuals or groups from different societies through market exchange or reciprocity exchange relationships. In effect, all external market exchange relationships and institutions come under the term "trade," as do some forms of external reciprocity exchange (such as gift-giving) discussed by Heider (1969). Explicitly excluded are all forms of external redistributive exchange (Figure 1). This definition is intended for use with historical and ethnographic data.[10]

Trade Institutions

Because of the general humanistic perspective guiding this study it will not be enough to identify only the goods and services being traded. Of greater importance will be the identification and description of the specific human relationships (the institutions) by which the transfers occur. And, as will be seen in Chapter 6, some of these institutions have what Bohannan and Dalton call "social aspects" which are important and only incidentally linked to transfers of goods and services (1962:15-18).

Agent/Movement/Space Relationships

To aid in clearly conceiving the relationships between agents of trade and their movement in space I have elaborated on a "typology"

6

of such relationships presented by Renfrew (1975:41-46). As Renfrew's use of the terms "reciprocity" and "redistribution" seriously conflicts with my usages (and, I believe, departs significantly from their meanings as originally used by Polanyi), I have replaced his terminology with one of my own which I consider to be more appropriate. The elaborated "typology" is presented in Figure 2. I consider it to be of potentially universal use in future trade studies, hence I have attempted to make it exhaustive.

Figure 2

"Typology" of Agent/Movement/Space Relationships

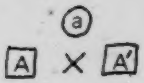
(based on Renfrew's 1975:41-46 "Spatial Aspects of Modes of Trade")

As Renfrew's use of the terms "Reciprocity" and "Redistribution" conflict with my usages I have renamed as well as expanded his original list of spatial aspects.

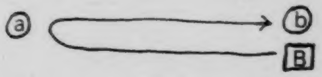
O = place   □ = person (agent)   X = exchange

⟶ = direction of movement   ⋮ = societal boundary

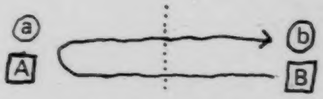
NON-TRADE



INTERNAL EXCHANGE: A exchanges with A′.

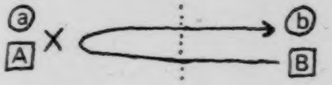


DIRECT ACCESS: Resource collecting trip; may or may not cross a societal boundary.

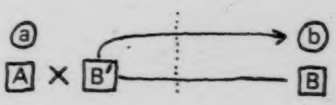


THEFT: A raid or other unauthorized seizure of A's resources or property by B.

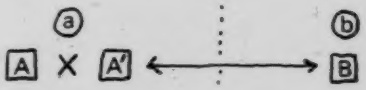
TWO-PARTY TRADING



VISITING TRADE: B visits A to trade.

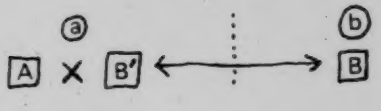


VISITING AGENT TRADE: B sends agent/emissary B′ to trade with A; often very formalized: states, chiefdoms or corporate units involved.

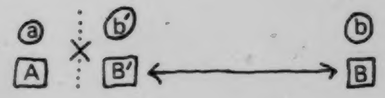


NATIVE AGENT TRADE: B employs native agent A′ to trade for him and send him goods.

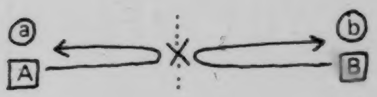
TWO-PARTY TRADING (cont.)



RESIDENT AGENT TRADE: B employs resident agent B′ to trade for him and send him goods/or/B′, acting as an entrepreneur, sells to B.

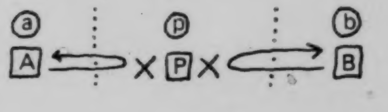


COLONIAL ENCLAVE TRADE: B receives goods from B′ in the colony, who has traded for them with A.

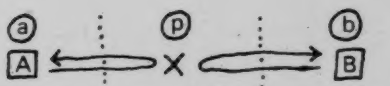


BOUNDARY TRADE: A and B meet at their common boundary to trade.

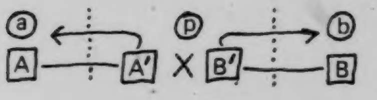
CENTRAL PLACE TRADING



CENTRAL PLACE MIDDLEMAN: P buys from A & B; P sells A's products to B, B's products to A.

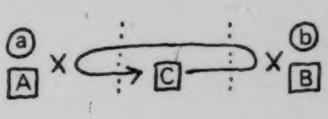


CENTRAL MARKETPLACE: A & B meet at p to trade with each other.

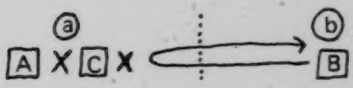


PORT OF TRADE: Agents of A & B meet at p to trade with each other.

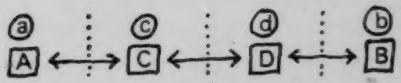
MULTIPLE-PARTY TRADING



VISITING MIDDLEMAN: C visits A & B and trades with them.



RESIDENT MIDDLEMAN: C buys from B, sells to A, and vice versa.



TRADING CHAIN: Goods move from A to B and vice versa through hands of intermediaries; exchanges may be at boundaries or at centres, and each exchange is potentially any of those listed above.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

[1] Starr's 1896 trip marks the beginning of the "ethnographic present": the period of time - from 1896 to the present day - for which we have ethnographic data collected by reliable observers.

[2] Maier's Law: "If the facts do not conform to the theory, they must be disposed of," (Wallechinsky, Wallace & Wallace 1977:481).

[3] I do not consider Marxist approaches to exchange here because the Marxist viewpoint explicitly stresses "the means of production" as its central concern, thus relegating exchange to a peripheral and derivative position. Since the emphasis of this study is on exchange, I consider Marxist approaches to be inappropriate. Furthermore, Marxism assumes the existence of an antagonistic relationship in any exchange (a conflict of interests) which I consider to be empirically invalid for any universal application.

[4] These are called "patterns" or "forms of integration" by Polanyi (1957:250, 252) and "principles" or "modes of transaction" by Bohannan & Dalton (1962).

[5] I use these terms as follows: (a) complementary division of labour to mean that two parties will concentrate on different production tasks (with different production "fruits") and then exchange the "fruits of labour." For example, an Indian husband labouring in the fields to produce the basic food stuffs (e.g., corn and beans) while the

wife processes the food stuffs to produce the family meals.

(b) Sharing to mean that two parties will work together on a single task (e.g., working the milpa).

[6] While Smelser (1959) has suggested a fourth "pattern" - "mobilizative exchange" - I frankly feel that it is subsumed within Redistributive Exchange as I understand and define it.

[7] This is called simply "Exchange" by Polanyi (1957:250-256), which I consider a very undesirable use of the term.

[8] These "exchange spheres" should not be confused with the "spheres of exchange" described by Bohannan (1959:492-494) and Bohannan & Dalton (1962:5-6) where a single society has goods ranked into classes and "conversion" of one class of goods into another is rare or limited.

[9] For example Adams (1974), while entitling his article "Anthropological Perspectives on Ancient Trade" and criticizing aspects of others' definitions of trade, does not himself contribute any usable definition to substitute for those he criticizes.

[10] Elsewhere (Baldwin 1976:177) I have assayed a broad definition of trade suitable for use with archeological materials where the social context of the exchange is uncertain. See also the compatible definition given by Renfrew (1969:152).

CHAPTER 2

CHIAPAS AND GUATEMALA: NATURAL GEOGRAPHY

The Mexican state of Chiapas and the contiguous nation of Guatemala occupy portions of the northern end of the sub-continental projection of North America known as Central America,[1] between 88° and 95° West Longitude and 13° and 18° North Latitude. Chiapas is bordered on the west by the Isthmus of Tehuántepec, on the south by the Pacific Ocean, on the east by Guatemala, and on the north by the lowland Mexican state of Tabasco. Guatemala is bordered on the west by the Mexican states of Chiapas and Tabasco, on the south by the Pacific Ocean, on the east by the nations of El Salvador and Honduras, and on the north by the Gulf of Honduras and the Yucatán Peninsula (Figure 3).

PHYSIOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

The physiography and geology of Chiapas and Guatemala can best be described as a series of roughly parallel latitudinal bands, running from the northwest to the southeast, and beginning with the Pacific coastal plain in the south and terminating with the Tabasco-Petén lowlands in the north (Figure 4). The first band is the Pacific coastal plain composed of Quaternary sediments washed down from the Sierra Madre immediately to the north, varying in width up to a maximum of 50 km and lying between 0 m and 200 m above sea level. Numbers of short rivers descend from the Sierra Madre and cross the coastal

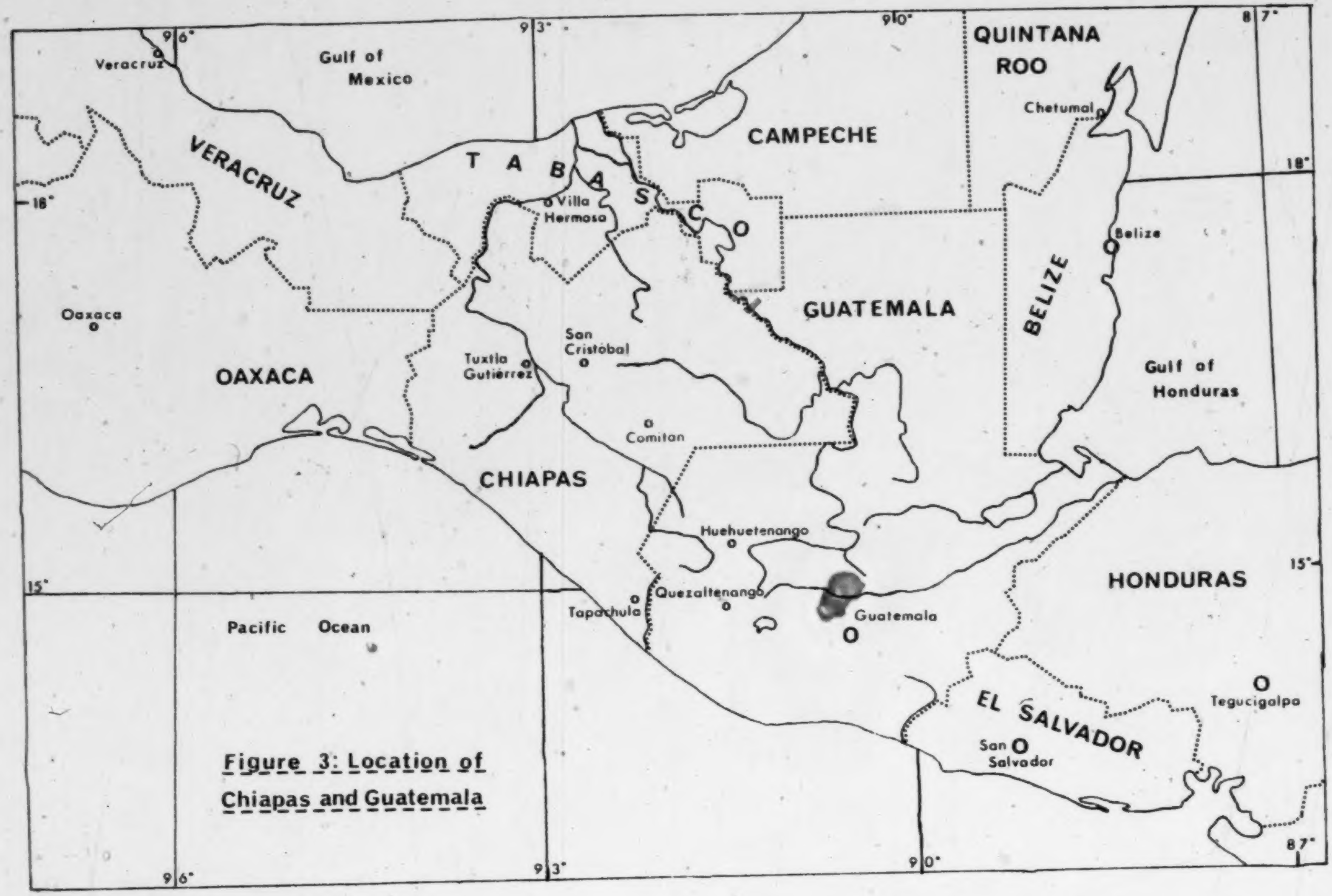

9 6°
9 3°
9 0°
8 7°
18°
15°
Veracruz
Gulf of Mexico
VERACRUZ
T A B A S C O
Villa Hermosa
CAMPECHE
QUINTANA ROO
Chetumal
Belize
BELIZE
Gulf of Honduras
GUATEMALA
Oaxaca
OAXACA
Tuxtla Gutiérrez
San Cristobal
Comitan
CHIAPAS
Huehuetenango
Quezaltenango
Tapachula
Guatemala
HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa
EL SALVADOR
San Salvador
Pacific Ocean

Figure 3: Location of Chiapas and Guatemala

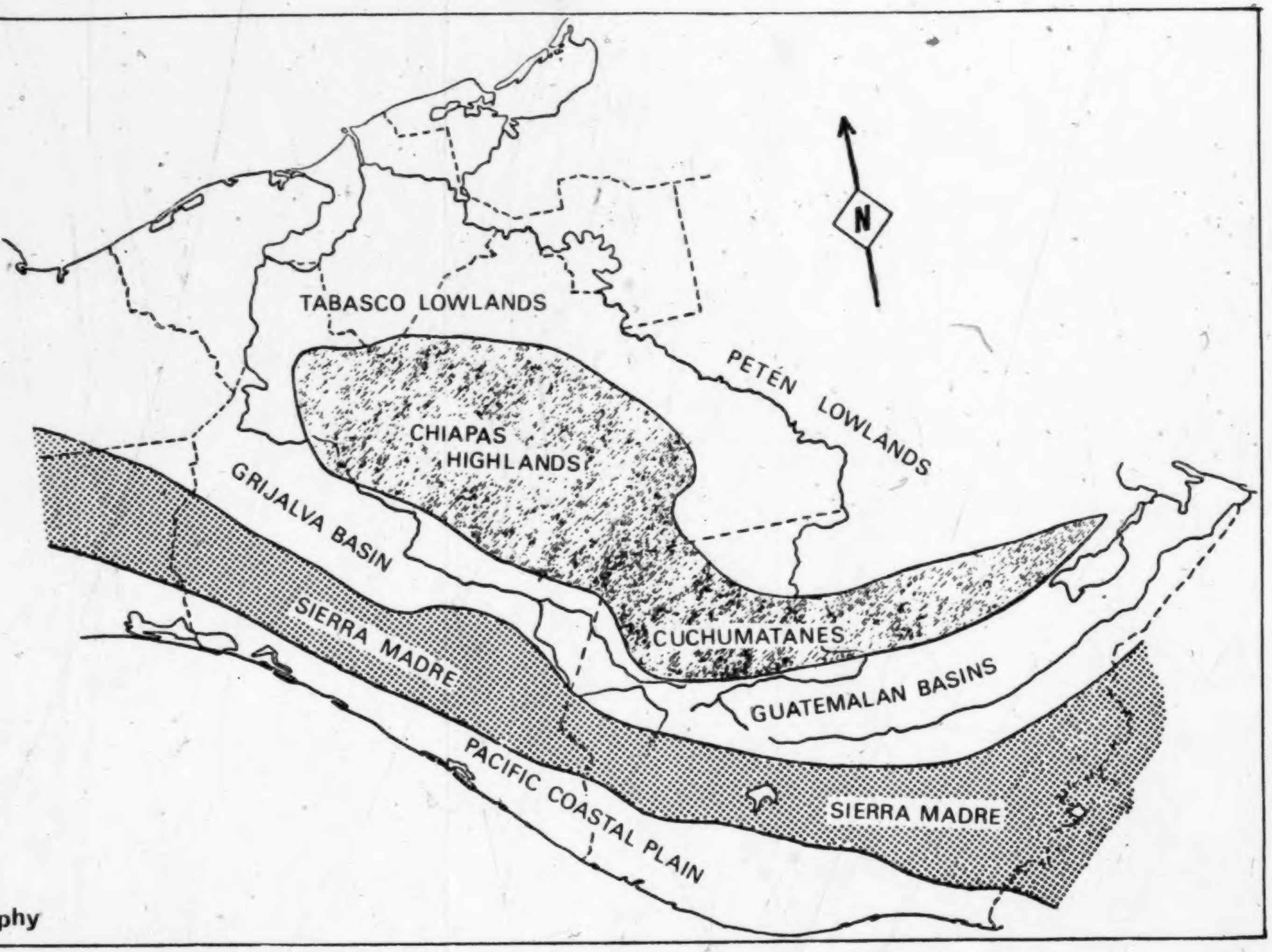

N
TABASCO LOWLANDS
PETEN LOWLANDS
CHIAPAS HIGHLANDS
GRIJALVA BASIN
CUCHUMATANES
GUATEMALAN BASINS
SIERRA MADRE
SIERRA MADRE
PACIFIC COASTAL PLAIN

Figure 4:
Physiography

plain in a generally southwestwardly direction. In places along the coast there are lagoons protected by offshore bars and barrier beaches (West 1964:39, 80).

The second band landwards consists of the Sierra Madre, a long mountain range composed of Paleozoic igneous rock, covered in Guatemala by lava and ash from Cenozoic volcanic activity. The Sierra Madre rises abruptly from the coastal plain to elevations of from ca. 1,000 m in parts of Chiapas to over 4,000 m for some of the highest volcanos in Guatemala. Steep canyons cut the southern face of the range, and in Guatemala earthquakes and active volcanism introduce features such as the caldera occupied by Lake Atitlán (West 1964: 39, 65, 67, 74-77; Waibel 1946).

The third landward band is a long structural depression composed of the Grijalva Basin in Chiapas and the upper drainage basins of the Cuilco, Negro and Motagua rivers in Guatemala. In Chiapas the Grijalva Basin is wide and low, ranging between 500 m and 800 m above sea level, and is drained to the northwest by the Río Grijalva which eventually empties into the Gulf of México.[2] The Guatemalan basins are smaller in breadth but much higher in elevation, ranging between 1,600 m and 2,200 m with river entrenchments reaching down to 1,200 m. The rivers[3] are entrenched into deep deposits of volcanic ash (West 1964:39, 65, 67, 69; personal observation).

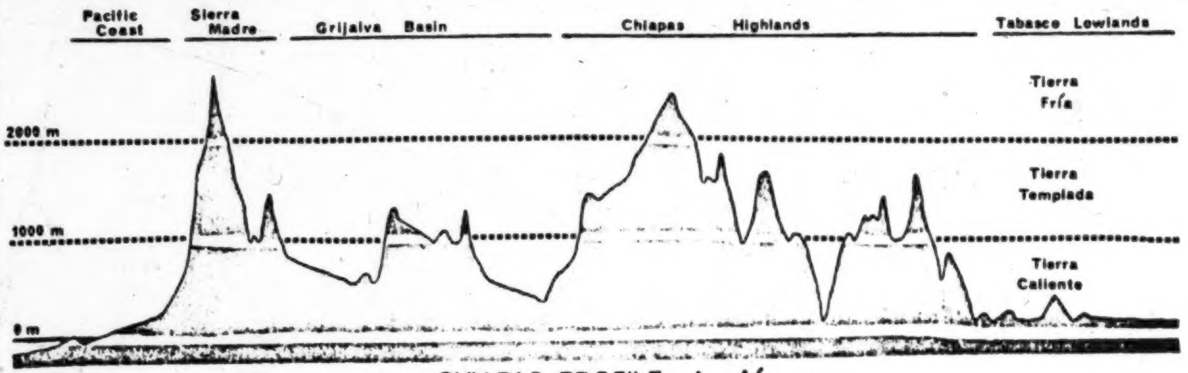
The fourth landward band consists of several elevated fault blocks (horsts) of Tertiary limestones which form mountainous plateaux, such as the Chiapas Highlands (Los Altos de Chiapas) and Los Altos Cuchumatanes in Guatemala.[4] The southern faces are abrupt fault scarps, with summits reaching as high as 3,600 m. The plateau surfaces are pocked and broken by Karstic features such as sumideros (sinkholes). The northern faces of these fault blocks are broken by faults and folds producing a succession of ridges and valleys which descend to and blend into the fifth and final physiographic band (West 1964:39, 65, 67-69).

The final band consists of hilly lowlands: (a) the Tabasco lowlands north of the Chiapas Highlands, which are composed of Pleistocene alluvium and generally less than 200 m above sea level; these merge eastwards with (b) El Petén, the southern-most portion of the Yucatán platform, a Quaternary limestone lowland. The whole lowland area is drained primarily by the Grijalva and Usumacinta river systems (West 1964:39, 58-59, 72-73).

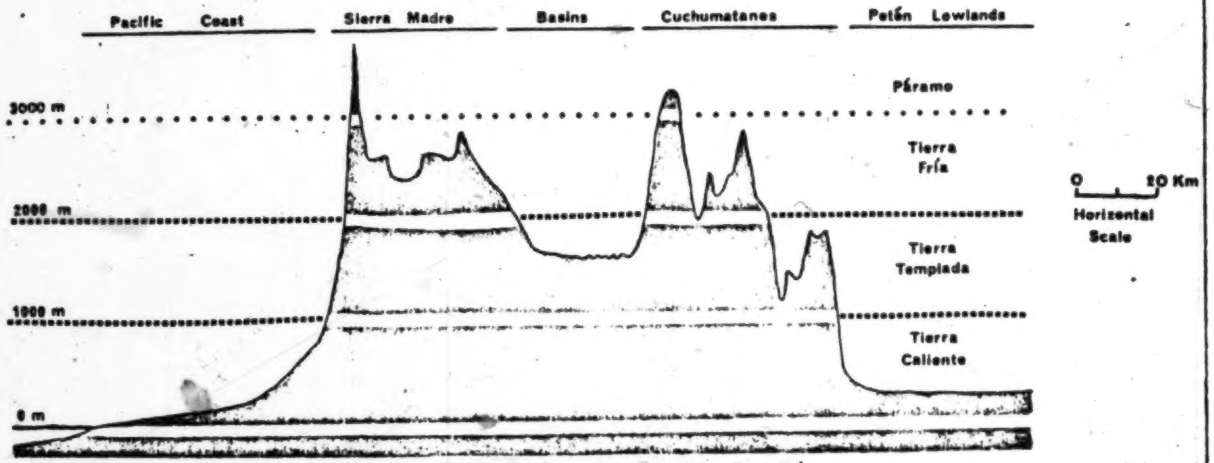
The succession of the five physiographic bands can be seen in profile in Figure 5.

CLIMATE

In Chiapas and Guatemala, areas south of the Tropic of Cancer, altitude above sea level is the most significant determinant of temperature, hence there are traditionally recognized temperature zones: tierra caliente ("hot land") between sea level and 1,000 m elevation, characterized by hot tropical temperatures; tierra templada


Pacific Coast
Sierra Madre
Grijalva Basin
Chiapas Highlands
Tabasco Lowlands
Tierra Fría
Tierra Templada
Tierra Caliente
2000 m
1000 m
0 m

CHIAPAS PROFILE: A–A′


Pacific Coast
Sierra Madre
Basins
Cuchumatanes
Petén Lowlands
Páramo
Tierra Fría
Tierra Templada
Tierra Caliente
3000 m
2000 m
1000 m
0 m
0
20 Km
Horizontal Scale

GUATEMALAN PROFILE: B–B′

Figure 5

("temperate land") between 1,000 m and 2,000 m above sea level, cooler temperatures roughly equivalent to those expected for "warm temperate" areas north of the Tropic of Cancer; and tierra fría ("cold land") more than 2,000 m above sea level, colder temperatures roughly equivalent to those expected for "cold temperate" areas north of the Tropic of Cancer (Vivó Escoto 1964:188-189).[5] These altitudinal temperature zones are indicated in Figure 5 and fully mapped for Chiapas and Guatemala in Figure 6.

Seasons in Chiapas and Guatemala are based more on differences in rainfall than differences in temperature: a rainy season (often called verano, "summer") from May to November during which roughly 80% of annual precipitation occurs, and a dry season (often called invierno, "winter") from November to May. In April and May is the coincidence of highest temperature with greatest dryness. After the rains begin in late May or June the increase in cloud-cover, humidity and, concomitantly, leaf-cover and hence shade produces cooler temperatures (Vivó Escoto 1964:198, 201; personal observation).

As local physiography controls temperature and greatly influences amount of precipitation, the local climatic zones of Chiapas and Guatemala roughly match the five physiographic bands described above. The Pacific coastal lowland and the south face of the Sierra Madre below 1,000 m receive over 1,000 mm of rain yearly, with the western end of the coastal belt having a distinct dry season (Aw,

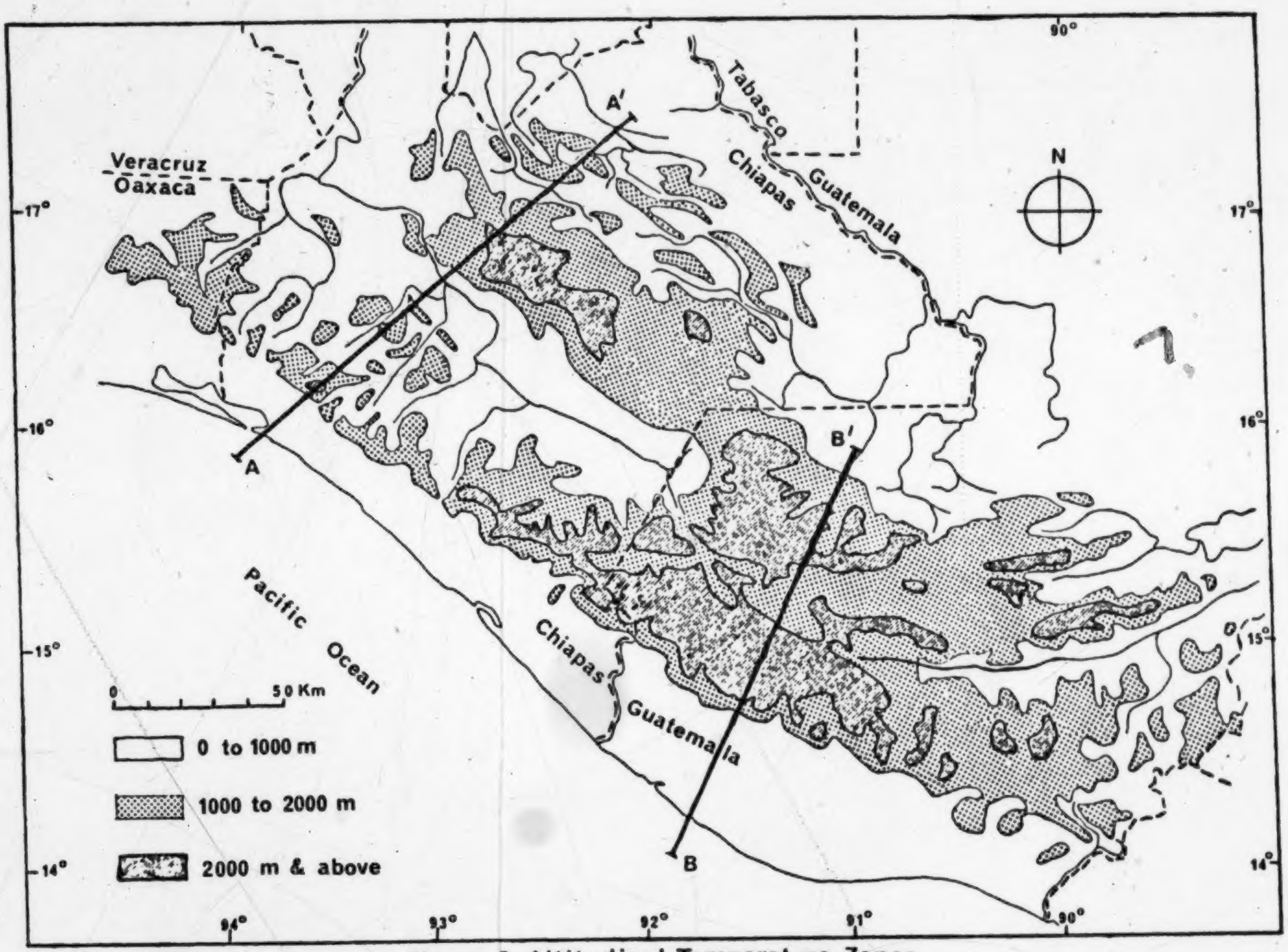

90°
Veracruz
Oaxaca
Tabasco
Chiapas
Guatemala
N
A'
A
B'
B
Pacific Ocean
Chiapas
Guatemala
0
50 Km
0 to 1000 m
1000 to 2000 m
2000 m & above
17°
16°
15°
14°
94°
93°
92°
91°
90°

Figure 6: Altitudinal Temperature Zones

Koppen classification), but quickly shades eastwards along the coast into a zone of higher rainfall (1,500-2,000 mm) spread throughout the whole year (Amw') (Vivó Escoto 1964:207, 212-213).

The Sierra Madre above 1,000 m is humid with rainfall throughout the year but with a maximum between June and October; this area includes both tierra templada (Cfa) and tierra fría (Cfb) temperature zones. It receives the full effect of moist air from the Pacific Ocean, which rises and condenses into rain, cloud and mist which tend to envelope the peaks. The cold, highest peaks receive snow (Vivó Escoto 1964:207, 210-211).

The Grijalva Basin, being relatively low, has high temperatures and rainfall, but a distinct dry season (Aw); while the higher Guatemalan basins and southern facing section of the Chiapas Highlands have cooler temperatures while retaining the distinct seasonality of rainfall (Cwa for tierra templada, Cwb for tierra fría). However, the northern face of the Chiapas Highlands and most of the Cuchumatanes above 1,000 m have conditions similar to those of the Sierra Madre due to windward exposure to moist air masses from the Caribbean (Vivó Escoto 1964:207, 210-212).

The northern low foothills of the Chiapas Highlands and the Cuchumatanes experience high temperatures with high rainfall distributed throughout the year - though with some seasonality of precipitation (Amw') - which passes northward to the Tabasco-Petén lowlands where seasonality of rainfall disappears (Afw') and the amount increases to over 2,000 mm per year (Vivó Escoto 1964:207, 212-213).

NATURAL VEGETATION

The natural vegetation, being greatly controlled by physiography and climate, also roughly approximates the physiographic bands originally described above. However, man has greatly altered the natural vegetation of some areas through centuries of agricultural and grazing use, hence some of the descriptions below are approximations to the natural vegetation.

Among the lagoons and bars of the Pacific shoreline are mangrove tidal swamps, succeeded inland by stands of palm, and then - where undisturbed by man - by seasonal deciduous and sub-deciduous forests on the coastal plain and ascending in places to between 750 m and 1,250 m on the south face of the Sierra Madre. Inland from the seasonal forests, but limited to deep and well-drained soils, is a band of rainforest along the foothills and lower slops of the Sierra Madre between 150 m and 1,400 m. This rainforest is especially wide and prominent in Guatemala and the southeastern-most portion of Chiapas which corresponds with the greater and less-seasonal rainfall of the Amw' climate. Most of the coastal plain and foothills of the Sierra Madre, however, has been disturbed by man through clearing and burning for prehistoric agriculture and historical grazing and coffee plantations, so that it now consists of grass savanna with mogotes (isolated stands of natural forest) (Wagner 1964:223, 227, 248-250, 261-262).

Above 1,000 m the Sierra Madre, the Chiapas Highlands, the Cuchumatanes, and the high interior basins of Guatemala support a highly varied complex of forest associations composed of many species of deciduous, oak, and pine trees together with their associated shrub understories. Numerous edaphic (microclimatic) variations, particularly in soil thicknesses, precipitation and wind, account for this great variety. Tree-line is at 4000 m so only the highest volcanic peaks have a páramo or alpine tundra (Wagner 1964:223, 237-240).

In contrast to the high Guatemalan basins, the low Grijalva Basin is a region of seasonal deciduous forests now heavily modified into grass savanna through human agencies, being essentially similar to those described above for the Pacific Coast (Wagner 1964:223, 248-251).

Finally, beyond the Chiapas Highlands and the Cuchumatanes are the tropical rainforests of their northern slopes below 1,400 m and of the Tabasco-Petén lowlands (Wagner 1964:223, 224-228).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

[1] Chiapas is part of Central America in terms of geology, flora, fauna and historical associations.

[2] The Grijalva Basin is often referred to as the Central Valley or Central Depression of Chiapas, and the portion of the Río Grijalva which flows through it is often called the Río Grande de Chiapas.

[3] The Río Cuilco drains westwards to join the Río Grijalva. The Río Negro flows north to become the Río Chixoy and eventually join the Río Usumacinta which drains northwestwards to the Gulf of México. The Río Motagua flows eastwards to the Gulf of Honduras.

[4] The Chiapas Highlands are also known as the Meseta Central and the Sierra de San Cristóbal.

[5] Average yearly temperatures for tierra caliente range between 20°C and 30°C, with hot days and cool nights being typical and frost being rare or unknown. For tierra templada the average yearly temperatures range between 15°C and 20°C, with mild to hot days and cool to cold nights and some mid-winter frosts. Tierra fría average yearly temperatures are below 15°C, with generally mild days and cold nights and killing frosts in winter (Vivó Escoto 1964:198-199).

CHAPTER 3

CHIAPAS AND GUATEMALA: CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY AND CULTURAL HISTORY

Chiapas and Guatemala are contained within the cultural area known as Mesoamerica or Middle America. As Mesoamerica is a cultural rather than a natural unit, definition of its boundaries varies from author to author and, whatever criteria are used, the location of these boundaries has fluctuated over time. Very roughly, Mesoamerica consists of that portion of the continent of North America lying between 13° and 22° North Latitude and 85° and 107° West Longitude. At the time of the Spanish Conquest (ca. A. D. 1520) this area was inhabited by human populations practicing agriculture, having population densities generally higher than those found in other parts of North America, organized into social units greater than the village (usually chiefdoms or city states and occasionally small empires), occupying a range of social agglomerations from the hamlet to the city in size, utilizing a basic stone-wood-plant fibre technology with some production of copper, silver, and gold items, and class (or occupation) limited literacy and knowledge of advanced calendrical and mathematical systems. This definition is not exhaustive nor is it equally applicable to all periods of time, but - using the Spanish Conquest as a general reference point in time (as is commonly done by mesoamericanists) - the generalized picture presented above serves to illustrate the concept of the Mesoamerican culture area.

LANGUAGES

The present-day human inhabitants of Chiapas and Guatemala speak a number of languages and dialects. Only one Indo-European language is spoken by any large number of people: Spanish, the language of the Europeans who conquered these regions in the 1520s and which remains the official language of the present national states. There are, of course, a handful of speakers of Chinese, German, French, English, Japanese, Arabic and other world languages to be found mainly in the cities and towns and on foreign-owned plantations, but these are of little concern to the present study. One member of the Mixe-Zoquean group of languages, Zoque, is spoken in Chiapas. The remaining languages are grouped into the Mayan language family and are listed in Table 1. Several of these languages are spoken by only a few people and may be on the verge of extinction: Chicomucelteca, Motozintleca and Lacandón. The geographical distribution of languages is illustrated in Figure 7.

ETHNIC GROUPS AND SOCIETIES

The number of ethnic groups and societies defineable in Chiapas and Guatemala is variable, depending upon the point of view taken. One-to-one correspondences between ethnic groups and societies, or between either of these and a single characteristic - such as language - do not hold up in most cases. Hence, definitions are empirically complex:

TABLE 1

MAYAN LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN CHIAPAS AND GUATEMALA ca. A.D. 1950

Genetic classification is based on the sub-groupings of N.A. McQuown, as restated by Longacre (1967:140-141)

Language	Geographic Location	Genetic Classification
Chol	Chiapas & Guatemala	Cholan
Chortí	Guatemala	
Tzeltal	Chiapas	Tzeltalan
Tzotzil	Chiapas	
Tojolabal	Chiapas	
Mam	Chiapas & Guatemala	Mamean
Aguacateca	Guatemala	
Ixil	Guatemala	
Quiché	Chiapas & Guatemala	Quichéan
Uspanteca	Guatemala	
Cakchiquel	Guatemala	
Tzutujil	Guatemala	
Kekchí	Guatemala	Kekchían
Pocomam	Guatemala	
Pocomchi	Guatemala	
Yucateca	Guatemala	Yucatec Mayan
Lacandón	Chiapas	
Kanjobal	Guatemala	
Chuj	Guatemala	
Jacalteca	Guatemala	
Motozintleca (Mochó)	Chiapas	
Chicomucolteca (Cotoque)	Chiapas	

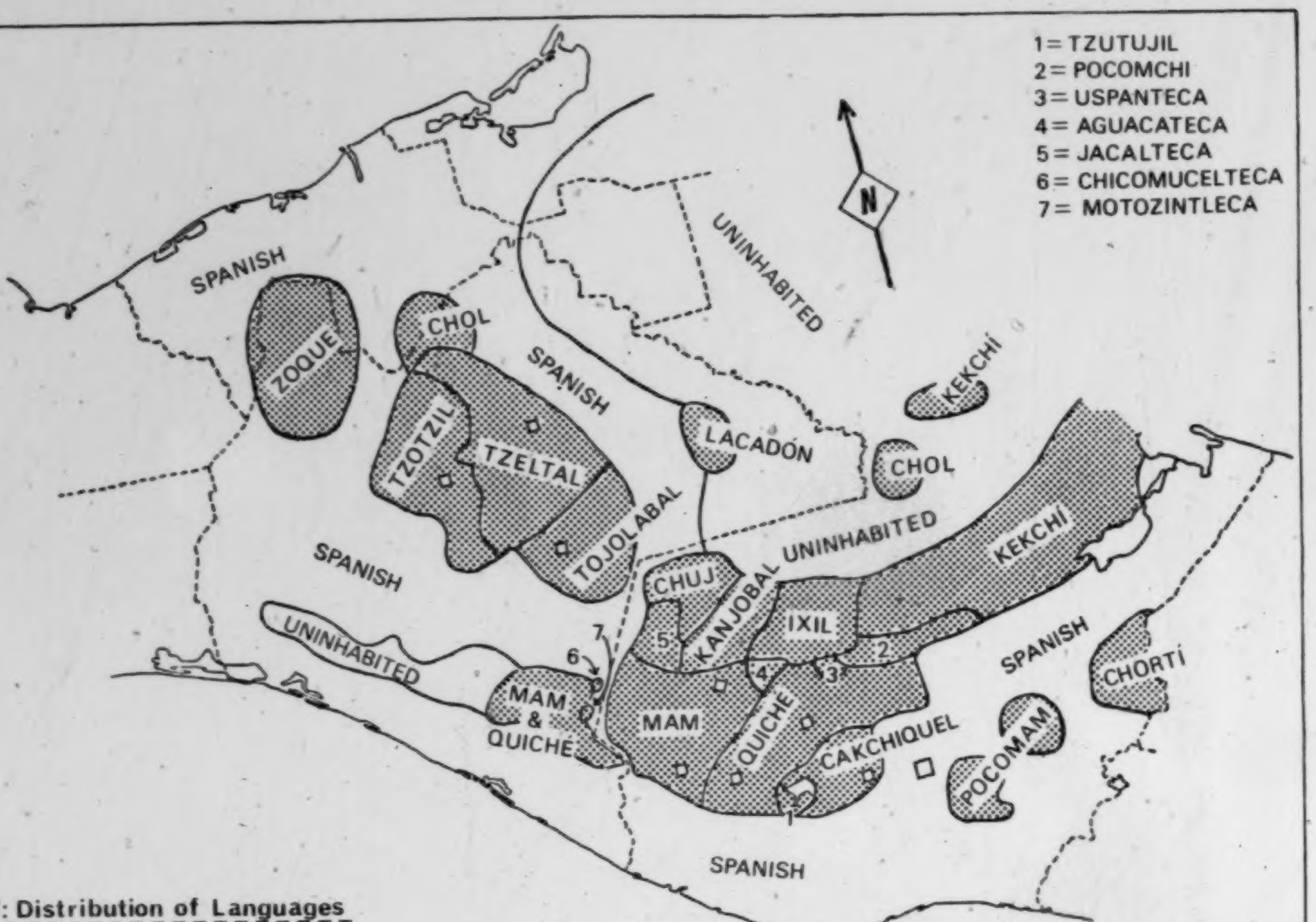

1= TZUTUJIL
2= POCOMCHI
3= USPANTECA
4= AGUACATECA
5= JACALTECA
6= CHICOMUCELTECA
7= MOTOZINTLECA
N
SPANISH
ZOQUE
CHOL
SPANISH
TZOTZIL
TZELTAL
TOJOLABAL
LACADÓN
UNINHABITED
KEKCHÍ
CHOL
UNINHABITED
KEKCHÍ
SPANISH
UNINHABITED
CHUJ
KANJOBAL
5
IXIL
2
3
4
7
6
MAM & QUICHE
MAM
QUICHE
CAKCHIQUEL
1
POCOMAM
SPANISH
CHORTÍ
SPANISH

Figure 7: Distribution of Languages

Ladinos

The term Ladino refers to a person whose native tongue is Spanish and who participates in the current national society in terms of style of dress, material possessions, education, world view and religion. At present, in both Guatemala and México, these usually include as a complex the orthodox form of Roman Catholicism, the acceptance of a national society loyalty and group identity (mexicano or guatemalteco), a rejection of Indian religious beliefs and membership in Indian communities, the wearing of machine-made or tailored Euro-American style clothing, the ability to read and write Spanish as well as speak it, etc. A principal criterion, however, is whether or not a person considers him/herself to be a Ladino and whether or not this identification is accepted by other individuals.. The geographical spread of Ladinos essentially correlates with the area of Spanish-speakers shown in Figure 7, plus the principally Ladino towns and cities shown in the other areas.

Indians

Called indígenas or indios by Ladinos, Indians are considered one ethnic group only by non-Indians. As there are now no Indian tribal, chiefdom or state organizations, the ethnic group and the society are defined from an Indian's point of view as his community, "su pueblo." Each Indian language thus does not represent a coherent group or society, but is simply a number of such societies all of whom speak mutually-intelligible dialects.

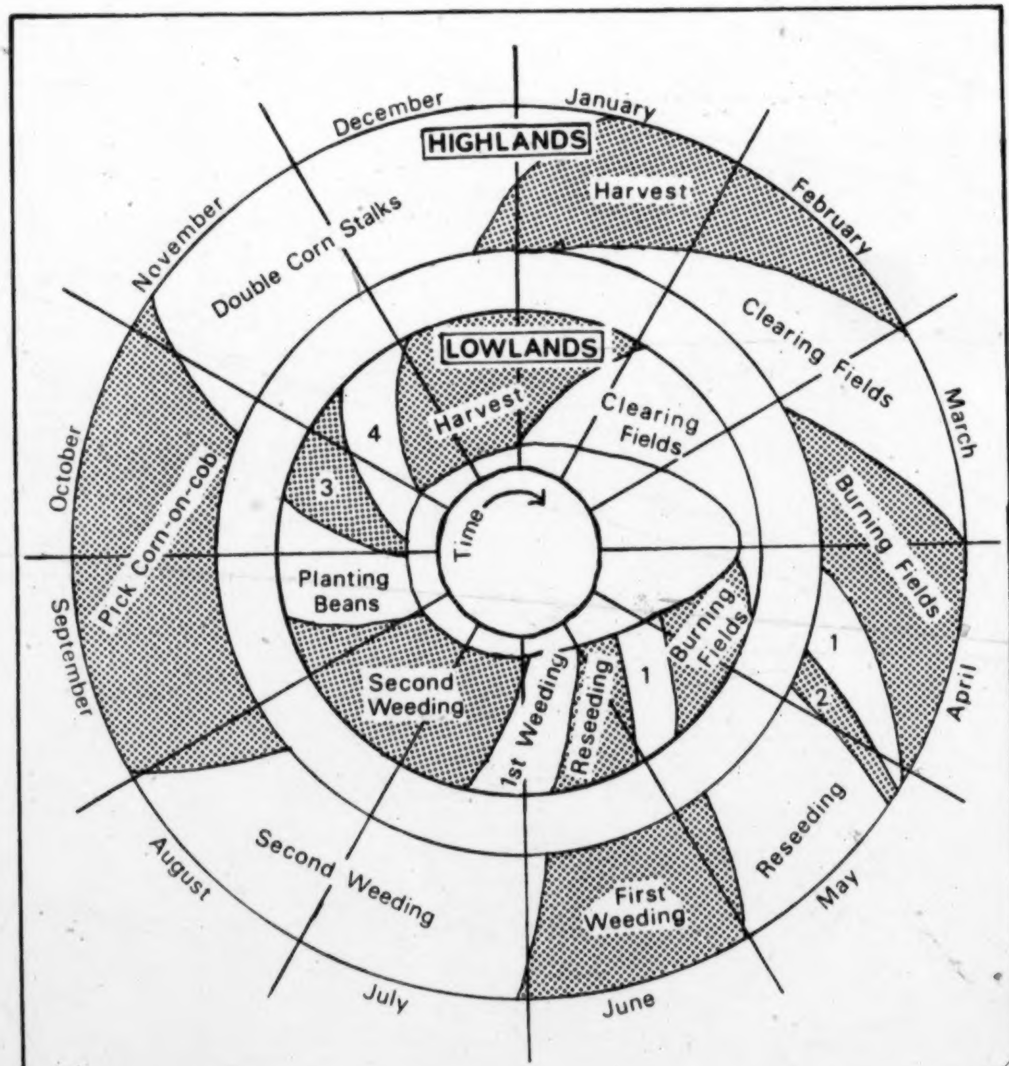
Until recently, members of particular Indian societies could be identified as speaking a dialect of one of the Indian languages, wearing a set costume distinctive of their particular society, practising a syncretic Indian-Catholic religion and possessing a non-Euro-American world view, usually having limited formal education and a limited command of the Spanish language, and a relatively limited consciousness of and interest in the national society of the Ladinos. While this description will still hold true in many cases, since about 1950 there has been an increasing amount of change: the increasing use of modern Euro-American style machine-made clothing, and higher levels of general education shown in an increasing knowledge and understanding of the surrounding Ladino national society. In some cases, of course, what is happening is that the Indian society is undergoing dissolution as a distinct entity as its members assimilate into the Ladino national culture. In other cases, however, an Indian societal identity is maintained while important changes occur in various aspects such as religion, dress, and basic subsistence, as has recently been described by W. Smith (1975, 1977).

Groups Studied: In Chiapas the groups studied in this thesis include all of the Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking Indian societies for which there is information (see Appendix 1 for a complete list of Tzeltal and Tzotzil communities). Compared to them are the societies in the western Guatemalan Highlands for which there is information, including speakers of Quiché, Mam, Aguacateca, Jacalteca, Chuj, Kanjobal, Tzutujil and Cakchiquel.[1]

Groups Not Studied: Some groups have been eliminated from consideration as there is little or no information available for them: these include the speakers of Zoque, Tojolabal, Chicomucelteca and Motozintleca in Chiapas, and Uspanteca in Guatemala. All others not already mentioned are considered to fall outside my arbitrary geographical limitations. Ladinos, while not specifically studied, do receive significant attention due to their frequent interaction with the Indian societies.

AGRICULTURE AND SUBSISTENCE

The fundamental subsistence activity for most of the Indian societies studied is maize agriculture (milpa). In Chiapas and some areas in Guatemala this is achieved with a slash-and-burn technology: limited to manual clearing and burning of fields in forest or secondary growth, the sowing of maize and beans, some weeding, and manual harvesting. At least in recent times fertilizer, either animal or manufactured, has been used to a certain extent. Fields are used for several years (three or four usually), then allowed to lie fallow for two to five years before replanting. In the highland areas the combination of frost and relatively little rain between November and May prevents year-round growing, while in the drier lowlands - such as the Grijalva Basin - an intense dry season prevents a second yearly crop without the use of irrigation (see maize cycle in Figure 8). Only


January
February
March
April
May
June
July
August
September
October
November
December
HIGHLANDS
Harvest
Clearing Fields
Burning Fields
1
2
Reseeding
First Weeding
Second Weeding
Pick Corn-on-cob
Double Corn Stalks
LOWLANDS
Harvest
Clearing Fields
Burning Fields
1
Reseeding
1st Weeding
Second Weeding
Planting Beans
3
4
Time

1 = Planting Maize
2 = Planting Beans
3 = Pick Corn-on-cob
4 = Double Corn Stalks

Figure 8: Maize Cycle

(modified from Collier 1975, Fig. 1)

in the wet Tabasco-Petén lowlands are two yearly crops possible. Intensive agricultural techniques such as irrigation and terracing are virtually unknown to Indian farmers in Chiapas, although attempts are being made by outside agencies to introduce such techniques (Turner 1977). In the Highlands of Guatemala contoured furrows produced by hoeing are characteristic, and some Indian farmers of the Cuchumatanes even use ox-drawn plows (McBryde 1947:20-21).

Slash-and-burn techniques combined with a lack of terracing encourages land erosion, especially when hillsides are farmed as is so frequently the case. This progressive destruction of agricultural land, coupled with rising populations has produced over the years a subsistence crisis for many communities, which - in both Chiapas and Guatemala - has been met by men, and sometimes families, engaging in wage-labour, principally on the coffee fincas on the Pacific coast (Pozas 1952; W. Smith 1977:49-52). Alternative tactics for meeting the maize deficit include working as itinerant traders (discussed in this study), encroaching on the lands of other communities, migrating away to form agricultural colonies in sparsely inhabited areas, or assimilation into Ladino culture - with concomitant changes in subsistence patterns.

Besides maize and beans, other crops may be grown concurrently in the milpa (see Stadelman 1940:145-146 for an exemplary list). Some communities also grow cash crops (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 2 for examples). Moreover, there is the universal kitchen garden which provides each household with a variety of vegetables and fruits. Altitudinal zonation effects the crops which can be grown (see Table 2 and further discussion in Chapter 4). Pigs, chickens, turkeys and sheep are commonly raised to sell and for their products (eggs and wool). Cattle and horses are seldom kept, tending to be Ladino domestic animals raised on ranches. Basic sources on Indian agriculture as described above are Collier (1975), Stadelman (1940), and McBryde (1947).

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The land territories of Highland Maya communities are often bounded by natural features such as rivers or streams. In Chiapas the boundaries are also marked by clusters of crosses and lines of mojones (conical earth mounds). Within these boundaries the Indian settlement pattern usually falls within three types defined by Tax (1937) for Guatemalan communities, but applicable to Chiapas as well: (a) a Town-nucleus type, where most individuals live in a compact town and walk out each day to work the surrounding lands; (b) a Vacant-town type, where the population is scattered in small hamlets (parajes or aldeas) throughout the community's territory, with one of the hamlets serving as the ceremonial centre of the society and containing the church building, plaza, the cabildo (governmental buildings) and housing for the native and official governments; and (c) the Combination Town-nucleus/Vacant-town type, where a nucleated settlement holds a a large proportion of the population, while the rest is scattered in hamlets. Of the three, the Town-nucleus type is rare in Chiapas, being found more frequently in Guatemala.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In Chiapas the only official political unit below the state level is the municipio. It should be kept in mind that the municipio is a unit of administration in Ladino national society imposed upon the Indians; hence a municipio may or may not coincide territorially with a single Indian community. For example the municipio of Chamula does coincide with the Indian community of Chamula, with the ceremonial centre acting as the cabecera (seat of administration); in contrast, the municipio of Ocosingo, with its cabecera at the Ladino town of Ocosingo, rules several Indian communities (Cancuc, Tenango, Guaquitepec, and possibly others) each of which is called an agencia municipal of Ocosingo and has an agente municipal, usually a Ladino, who is appointed by the municipio government to act in its name. Until recently each Indian municipio had a single ayuntamiento (town government) composed of an internally selected set of Indian officials watched over by a Ladino secretario, an appointee of the state government. Now complete appointee governments (ayuntamientos constitucionales) are established by Ladino authorities and serve concurrently with the traditional Indian governments (ayuntamientos tradicionales or regionales). Indian communities which are agencias municipales also have their own traditional Indian governments.

In Guatemala the nation is divided first into departamentos, with capitals in cities or large towns and Ladino administrations either elected or appointed by the national authorities (depending upon the current political philosophy).[2] Below the departamentos come the municipios. As in Chiapas, most Indian municipios have a traditional Indian ayuntamiento, now frequently by-passed by the establishment of a Ladino-controlled ayuntamiento.

The formalized religious offices characteristic of the Indian societies are usually integrated with the Indian ayuntamiento into a parallel hierarchy known as the "cargo system." Both religious and governmental offices (called cargos, "burdens") are filled on a yearly basis by Indian men, who are expected to volunteer to assume the financial and ritual responsibilities of the offices. For the highest cargos the financial burdens often are very great and individuals sometimes attempt to avoid service in them. Cargo system offices are open only to Indians of the local community, and an individual's service in a cargo is a form of affirmation of the individual's social identity. The historical development of the cargo system (but primarily the ayuntamiento, or "governmental" side of the system) has been discussed by Aguirre Beltrán (1953:19-63), Zavala y Miranda (1954:75-83), Gibson (1955), and Carrasco (1961).[3] The role of the cargo system in community life has been extensively explored for Chiapas and Guatemalan communities by Cancian (1965) and

W. Smith (1977).

Details of the social systems differ from community to community, but the basic unit among the Highland Maya appears to be the patrilocal extended family which is concretely expressed in the rural setting by a small cluster of houses containing a central paternal nuclear family household, plus the households of married sons. In the towns the material expression of this unit is the family compound: either a rectilinear structure divided into rooms and with a central sitio (open-air garden and work area),[4] or a walled compound with individual house structures within it. Kinship systems vary between patrilineal and bilateral, but residence is usually patrilocal (there are frequent exceptions, however). The Chiapas communities are highly endogamous; but in Guatemala, while community endogamy is most common, it does not have the strong sanctions found in Chiapas, hence marriage into other communities is relatively frequent. Patrilineages and territorial divisions suggesting dual organizations or quasi-kinship units are reported (and variously interpreted) by ethnographers for the Chiapas communities. In Guatemala patrilineages are reported from the Cuchumatanes (Wagley 1969:58-59), and - although previously thought not to exist - similar groups are now being reported from other parts of the Guatemalan Highlands (e.g., Lartigue 1973).

As a political and social unit, the Highland Maya Indian society is what Wolf (1957) has called a "closed corporate community," which develops along its own lines without reference to other communities insofar as the political and economic milieu permits.

RELIGION

The Highland Maya communities practice highly ideosyncratic forms of a syncretic Maya-Catholic religion, one of the chief elements being the cult of the patron saint and protector of the community. Other major elements include the belief in multiple souls ("nagualism"); belief in soul-loss and capture; belief in earth-owners or underground spirits with riches to offer; the frequent elevation of Jesus Christ to the position of a supreme deity; the concept of the earth as a cube supported at the corners by deities and around which travels the sun, moon, and stars. Elements of practice involve shamanistic rituals including divination and curing; witchcraft or the casting of disease and ill-fortune upon others; the use of Maya calendars for ceremonial time reckoning; ritual drinking of alcoholic beverages, etc.

In recent times two outside influences have made themselves felt: Acción Católica and Protestant evangelismo. Acción Católica (Catholic Action) is a lay movement designed to promote orthodoxy in Roman Catholic belief and practice. As such, it attacks the Indian syncretic religion as heretical, with the attacks sometimes exceeding the usual preaching, social pressure, and legal manoeuvrings to include desecration of Indian shrines and religious figurines or statues ("idols") and the destruction of Indian ritual paraphernalia. Protestant evangelism is undertaken by many different groups, with the most notable "success" being the conversion of about half of the Indian community of Oxchuc in Chiapas (Slocum 1956). Needless to say, the Indian syncretic religion is held as anathema by the evangelistas.

CULTURE HISTORY

This section will be no more than a brief overview of the culture history of the Chiapas and Guatemalan Highlands, intended to provide the necessary historical background to the study. Some additional discussion of the period since A. D. 1821 (independence from Spain) will be found at the ends of Chapters 5 and 7.

Prehistory

The prehistory of the highland areas of both Chiapas and Guatemala is but little known compared to other areas of Mesoamerica. As a result, the general chronologies developed for the rest of Mesoamerica have been assumed to apply to the highlands, but with little empirical basis for the assumption. Figure 9 (the chronological chart) shows the last two major prehistoric periods: the Classic Period (ca. A. D. 300-900) and the Post-Classic Period (ca. A. D. 900-1523). East of the Isthmus of Tehuántepec the Classic Period is most noted for the florescence and sudden downfall of the famous Maya Civilization which was centred in the lowland rainforests of El Petén to the north of the Guatemalan Highlands. Contemporary remains do exist in the highland areas, but have received relatively little study.[5]

In the Post-Classic Period our focus of knowledge shifts to the

Figure 9: Chronological Chart

Chiapas	Guatemala
	1944-1954: Reform Governments
1934-1940: Cárdenas Presidency: *Ejidos* Begun/Debt-Bondage Abolished.	1934: Vagrancy Laws
1910-1917: Mexican Revolution	
1890's: First Coffee *Fincas* in Soconusco	1894: Debt-Bondage Labour System Legalized.
1883 & 1894: Land Laws of Porfirio Díaz.	1883: Border with México Settled.
	1877: Barrios Abolishes Communal Lands.
1869-1870: Cuscat Rebellion.	1860's: Beginning of Coffee *Fincas*.
1856-1857: Ley Lerdo & Constitution of 1857.	1854: First American Steamship Line Along Pacific Coast.
	1850's: Indigo Market Crashes.
	1848: Second Los Altos Attempted Secession.
	1838-1840: First Los Altos Attempted Secession.
1824: Chiapas Annexed to México	↕ United Provinces of Central America 1823:

1822-1823: Temporary Union of México & Central America

1821: Independence From Spain

↕ Rebellion Against Spain

1810

SPANISH COLONIAL EMPIRE

1712-1713: Tzeltal Revolt

(Capitanía General de Guatemala & Audiencia de Guatemala)

1524/1526 SPANISH CONQUEST 1523/1526

1519

Chiapanec State & Maya Chiefdoms

↕ Rise of Triple Alliance & Aztec Empire in Central México

1427

↕ Warring States in Guatemala

ca. 1250

POST-CLASSIC PERIOD

900

CLASSIC PERIOD

Lowland Maya Civilization

A. D. 300

relatively well-known remains in the northern portion of the Yacatán Peninsula. However, quite recently there has been an upsurge of archeological and ethnohistorical research focused upon the highland areas, which promises to eventually provide detailed knowledge of the last two centuries before the Spanish Conquest.[6]

According to Miles' (1965) summary, at the time of the Spanish Conquest the Guatemalan Highlands were in the possession of the same Mayan-speaking groups which still survive there today. These groups were organized into a number of warring petty states, including the aggressive Quiché state. Some of these states had spread their control down out of the highlands to the adjoining sections of the Pacific coast. However, a large portion of the coastal plain and the foothills of the Sierra Madre was included in the territory of Xoconochco (Soconusco), a tributary of the Aztec state in Central México. The Soconuşco area - straddling the Chiapas/Guatemala border - was a fertile region for the growing of cacao, an important luxury product of the Post-Classic Period (see Bergmann 1969, Millon 1955, and Thompson 1956). The Aztec line of communications with Soconusco appears to have been along the Pacific Coast of Chiapas to the Isthmus of Tehuántepec, thence overland through Oaxaca and Puebla to the Valley of México; note that this is essentially the route followed by Pedro de Alvarado on his way to conquer Guatemala in 1523 and 1524.

As far as I can discern, the Sierra Madre in Chiapas (aside from an area around Motozintla) appears to have been uninhabited, even as much of it so remains today (see Figure 7). Inland, the upper portions of the Grijalva Basin, as well as the Chiapas Highlands, were occupied by the three Mayan-speaking groups: Tzotzil, Tzeltal, and Tojolabal. These three groups do not appear to have been organized into states, but rather into loose confederations of communities, perhaps as chiefdoms of some sort. Occupying the lower portion of the Grijalva Basin and based on the towns of Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapilla and Acala was the small theocratic state of the Chiapanecs, a group now almost completely absorbed into the Ladino national culture. Northwest of Chiapa de Corzo and occupying most of the lowlands of northwestern Chiapas were the independent towns of the Zoques. The Chiapanecs seem to have been aggressive: constantly warring with the Mayas of the Highlands and having subjected a number of Zoque towns to the status of tributaries to the Chiapanec state. It also seems that the Chiapanecs were Aztec allies - if only to protect the northern flank of the Aztec trade route to Soconusco. Although it is sometimes assumed that the Chiapas Highlands were conquered by the Aztecs due to the Náhuatl-derived names for many of the communities (e.g., Zinacantán and Chalchihuitán), these names are probably those told to the Spanish conquistadores by Aztec and Tlaxcalan translators accompanying the invading armies.[7]

Spanish Conquesf and Spanish Empire[8]

In late 1523, Pedro de Alvarado at the head of an army of Spaniards and Central Mexican mercenaries approached Guatemala along the Pacific coast route through the occupation of Soconusco. In 1524 his armies began the conquest of Highland Guatemala which, after the suppression of several revolts, was completed by 1526. As in Central México, the Spanish Conquest was greatly aided by internecine hatreds which allowed the Spaniards to defeat their opponents in piecemeal fashion.

In Chiapas Luis Marín, a lieutenant of Cortés, led an initial entrada of central Chiapas in 1523, starting from Espíritu Santo in Tabasco and following the Grijalva River south. After the military defeat of the Chiapanecs, the Highland Mayas at first submitted peacefully to the Spaniards, then revolted and were conquered piecemeal. After establishing the tributes to be paid, Marín's expeditionary force withdrew back to Espíritu Santo. Due to a lack of Spanish military presence the Indians of central Chiapas revolted (i.e., refused to pay their tribute) and were reconquered in 1526 by Diego de Mazariegos who established a capital first at Chiapa de los Indios (Chiapa de Corzo) and later (1528) at Chiapa de los Españoles (later known as Ciudad Real, and eventually as San Cristóbal de Las Casas).

I will not go into any detail on the period of the Spanish Empire, in part because it is not a period of major concern to this study but also because of the very spotty ethnohistorical record. Most published historical records of the period concern themselves with the doings of the Spaniards and criollos, with the Indians receiving attention mainly at times of revolt or of social controversy (such as the activities of Bartolome Las Casas in Chiapas). It must suffice to say that an imperial system of tribute and forced labour was imposed upon the Indian communities, beginning with the _encomienda_ and ending with the _mandamiento_, forced conversion to Roman Catholicism was imposed, and political and social restructuring of Indian life was ordered in the form of Spanish-style town governments and resettlement policies. The results of these imposed changes remain largely undocumented, although it is known generally that Indian mortality reached major proportions (probably similar to the documented population declines of Central México). I know of only one study (Reyes García 1962) which attempts to document population changes in Chiapas during the Spanish Colonial Period.

Since Independence from Spain[9]

Independence from Spain in 1821 brought no immediate changes in Indian life: the rebellion had been to promote Ladino/_criollo_ interests, not Indian interests. The first effects were a certain amount of chaos and uncertainty produced by internal power struggles. In both México and the Central American republic state-centralism contended against local interest groups espousing federalist political structures. In México the contest was resolved in favour of centralism, resulting in the coherent Mexican national state seen today; in Central America, however, local interests became paramount and the Central American republic dissolved into five separate states (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica).

These struggles were conducted between the factions of the Ladino element; the Indians, of course, being impressed as soldiers by the opposing armies whenever opportune.

Exemplary of the centrifugal (as opposed to centralist) tendencies in Central America were the unsuccessful 1838 and 1848 secessions from Guatemala by the Ladinos of Quezaltenango, whose secessionist state of Los Altos encompassed the whole of the western highlands. In these events the Indians were at best spectators, at worst victims.

Within three years of independence from Spain, Chiapas had been detached from Central America and annexed by México. Throughout the remainder of the 1800s, Chiapas "served" Guatemala as a refuge for dissident Guatemalan politicians and a staging ground for invasions and attempted coups d'etat by same. Chiapas and Guatemala were also of economic importance to each other since the ill-defined and indifferently patrolled border between them permitted lucrative smuggling.

The development of aniline dyes in the 1850s disrupted the Guatemalan economy which had depended to a good extent upon the export of cochineal and indigo. Production of these was soon displaced by the wave of the future: coffee. Begun in the 1860s, coffee production rapidly expanded in Guatemala, soon leading to government encouragement of coffee growing through various land and labour laws enacted between 1877 and 1894. These laws permitted the absorption of Indian lands by the growing fincas (plantations) and guaranteed the needed labour supply through the institution of debt-bondage, where an obligador (an agent of the finquero) would "oblige" Indians to work on the finca through cash loans which were to be deducted from their wages. Thus expedited, the fincas spread along the foothills of the Sierra Madre between 500 m and 1,400 m elevation, reoccupying the old cacao-growing area of prehistoric times. This set the pattern of seasonal finca-labour endured by the highland Indians to the present day.

Meanwhile, expansion of Ladino ranching and cash-cropping in central Chiapas was speeded in the 1850s, 1880s and 1890s by land laws permitting the stripping-away of communal and undeeded Indian lands which transformed Indian farmers into serfs (called baldios) on their own traditional lands or into debt-bondage labourers (mozos). These developments were at least in part responsible for the Cuscat Rebellion of 1869-1870 (see discussion in Chapter 5).

By the 1890s the Guatemalan coffee fincas had spread west to the border with Chiapas. The finqueros, many of them Germans, French and Americans, were encouraged by the Mexican government to expand their operations into the Mexican portion of Soconusco: the south-eastern district of Chiapas which is climatically the same as adjacent Guatemala. This expansion had two effects on the Indians:

(1) Highland Guatemalan Indians who crossed the border to work on the Mexican fincas could escape from previous debts to Guatemalan fincas by not returning to Guatemala. As a result many Mam and Quiché

Indians moved their families to Chiapas, occupying the previously uninhabited portions of the Sierra Madre which lie behind the Mexican coffee zone. (2) Due to an inadequate labour supply from Guatemalan sources, the finqueros on the Chiapas coast also sent their agents (known as enganchadores in Chiapas) into the Chiapas Highlands to recruit Indian labour. The same techniques of debt-bondage were used in Chiapas as in Guatemala and many Indians descended to the coast to work the fincas.

Between 1910 and 1917 life in Chiapas was disrupted by the Mexican Revolution, in which both Ladinos and Indians suffered from seizures of crops and domestic animals to feed and transport the troops and equipment of the various local factions. As usual, Indians were impressed as soldiers on both sides. Despite the victory of the reform party, no real changes in the Indians' situation occurred until the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940) when the ejido program of land reform was finally put into effect. This program reclaims land from large private holdings and distributes it as a communal usufruct to Indian communities; uninhabited areas, such as the Sierra Madre, can also be divided into ejido holdings. The effect of this reform was to help reduce the land shortages of many communities and make them more self-sufficient in agricultural produce. During the same period debt-bondage was abolished both for Ladino ranches and the coffee fincas. However, since the ejido program has only reduced and not eliminated land shortages, and since the population of the

Chiapas Highlands continues to grow, many Indians still travel to the Soconusco area to work as contract labourers.

In Guatemala the coffee fincas were joined at the turn of the century by the banana plantations of the United Fruit Company, which also used the debt-bondage labour system. In 1934 debt-bondage was abolished, but then replaced by the so-called "Vagrancy Laws" which forced most Indians into the labour pool for a portion of each year. Repeal of these laws occurred during the reform governments of Arévalo and Arbenz, but a counter-revolution backed by conservative and foreign (American) elements in 1954 halted further change. At present, the over-population of the Guatemalan Highlands continues to force many Indians to work in the coffee fincas and the banana and cotton plantations of the Pacific coast.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

[1] Ethnographic summaries covering the studied groups are available in Vogt & Wauchope (1969:21-100, 133-225).

[2] The departamentos encompassing the area of interest to this study are Huehuetenango, San Marcos, Quezaltenango, Totonicapán, El Quiché and Sololá.

[3] The initial steps in tracing the local evolution of cargo systems in the Chiapas Highlands have been taken by Zabala Cubillos (1961) for Zinacantán, and by Prokosch (1973) who has initiated comparative historical study of the Indian ayuntamientos (political cargos) of Chiapas. For the Guatemalan Highlands there is a study of the establishment and evolution of the cargo system of the San Juan Ostuncalco by Ebel (1969).

[4] This is very much the same as the traditional Iberian roomblock house with a central patio.

[5] A recent and reasonably concise survey of the Classic Period Maya Civilization is that by Culbert (1974), but see also the summaries by Weaver (1972:93-193) and Helms (1975:51-84).

[6] Recent summaries of the Post-Classic Period may be found in Weaver (1972:195-275) and Helms (1974:85-110). Exemplary of the recent expansion of knowledge on highland archeology and ethnohistory are Fox (1978), Wallace & Carmack (n. d.), Navarrete (1966),

and Culbert (1965).

[7] The use by the Spanish of Aztec and Tlaxcalan guides, translators, and mercenaries is well established. That Central Mexican mercenaries accompanied the Spanish conquest of Chiapas and remained as garrison troops is reflected in the names of some of the *barrios* of San Cristóbal: Barrio de los Mexicanos and Barrio de Tlaxcala.

[8] General sources on the Spanish Conquest and Spanish Colonial Period include Bancroft (1883), Herring (1968), Chevalier (1963), Elliott (1963), Helms (1975), and Favre (1973).

[9] General sources on the period since independence from Spain include Bancroft (1887), Herring (1968), Helms (1975), Favre (1973), Dessaint (1962), Munro (1918), Pozas (1952), and Aguirre Beltrán (1953).

CHAPTER 4

DOCUMENTATION OF INDIAN TRADE IN CHIAPAS: MEDIA OF EXCHANGE, TRADED GOODS AND SERVICES, CENTRES OF PRODUCTION, COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS

This chapter, Chapter 5 and Appendix 2 contain the basic documentation on Indian trade in Chiapas, while Chapter 6 presents a summary and analysis of the whole system of Indian trade in Chiapas. The present chapter is devoted to description of the goods and services traded, the media which expedite trade, and the system of roads and trails between communities through which trade goods pass. In reading this chapter it should be kept in mind that the major trade institutions in Highland Chiapas are the weekly Indian markets and daily Ladino markets, which are described in Chapter 5.

MEDIA OF EXCHANGE

National Moneys

In the A. D. 1970s the most general medium of exchange in the Chiapas Highlands is the Mexican national currency, consisting of a peso fractionable into 100 centavos.[1] Both metal coins and paper money are in circulation.

I cannot state the present situation, but at least as late as the mid-1940s Indians attending the weekly market at Tenejapa were reluctant to accept paper money, preferring fractional silver currency (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:84). At about this same date the continued use of the old real currency[2] is reported for a fiesta market at Cancuc by Fernando Cámara Barbachano (as cited by Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40) and at regular weekly markets at Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:100).

The whole situation was somewhat different in 1896 when Frederick Starr (1908:51) traveled through Chiapas:

> Mexican paper money is useless between Tuxtla Gutierrez and Comitan. At the latter city it may be exchanged for silver, but with difficulty. From here on we found no copper in circulation, and before reaching Comitan we had begun to receive Guatemalan silver in our change. Fully thirty leagues from the border we ceased to receive Mexican silver from anyone.[3]

At San Bartolomé de Los Llanos Starr's party not only received Guatemalan currency, but were told by an Indian:

> 'Here,' said he, 'not Mexico: here we are all Carrera's people.' This, of course, was sheer treason. Carrera, the pure-blood indian [sic] who in the stirring days of 1839 seized the power in Guatemala...has left a profound impression. At times an exile, he had lived at Comitan, where his name was familiar to all the indians around. (Starr 1908:52)

I have no earlier information on the use of national currencies in the Chiapas Highlands.

Other Moneys

Cacao beans are a well-known Mesoamerican aboriginal currency with an origin of use in pre-Hispanic times (Thompson 1956). Their use as currency appears to have persisted in Chiapas up into the ethnographic present, as noted during the early 1880s by Charnay

(1887:494): "The market of S. Cristobal is the only one in Mexico where bags of cocoa are still used as currency..." While there is no subsequent mention of their use in San Cristóbal, use of cacao currency seems to have persisted still later in some rural districts: "Our interpreter, Ciriaco Aguilar,...told us that in certain parts of the Ocosingo valley the Indians to this day 1925 use the cacao bean as small change in their negotiations with each other" (Blom & LaFarge 1926:226). No later accounts of cacao currency in Chiapas are known to me.

Use of maize as currency is reported for San Pedro Chenalhó by Guiteras Holmes (1961:59):

> Tukul, money barter, was formerly the manner by which everything was exchanged within the group: that is, everything could be purchased with maize. Today tukul is restricted to small items to be purchased for two mulkat [small ears of corn] or two tortillas...Women buy tukul...Tukul trading can be observed in the market place between Pedranos, or between Pedranos and Chamulas or other Indians of neighboring groups who have come in with their produce and wares. I am told that not many years ago eggs, meat, black candles, blood, tripe, squash, and skeins of colored wool were purchased by tukul.

Barter

Barter, or the direct exchange of goods with or without reference to a medium of exchange, has been recorded in various contexts for Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc, Larráinzar, Chenalhó, and Amatenango for the 1940s and 1950s. In most cases barter is seen to occur only between Indians, although a few instances of Indian/Ladino bartering are recorded (Cámara Barbachano 1966:97 for Tenejapa - and Oxchuc?; Aguirre Beltrán 1953:106 for San Cristóbal). In most instances bartering is seen operating in the context of a weekly or fiesta market - Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:82, 84),[4] Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40), Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:44), the Yochib illegal market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:95) - but that recorded for Oxchuc by Siverts (1969a:96) seems limited to internal exchange between members of the same paraje. For Amatenango barter seems to occur with Aguacatenangueros either at fiesta markets or when the latter pass through Amatenango; in both cases Amatenango pottery is bartered for a variety of items brought from Aguacatenango (J. Nash 1969:1/10 - 1/11).

TRADED GOODS AND SERVICES, CENTRES OF PRODUCTION, AND COMMUNITY SPECIALIZATION

This section of the chapter details the goods and services traded in the Chiapas Highlands, their centres of production, and the problem of specialization. The occupation/avocation of itinerant trader is dealt with separately in the next chapter, as is the actual distribution of goods through trade. Services, on the other hand, are completely covered in this section.

In most cases the goods noted below are produced in many communities, hence only those communities known to produce a "surplus" of particular items will be of interest. By "surplus" is meant the quantity of a produced item which exceeds the amount needed for consumption in the near future by the producing community. Such "surpluses," particularly quickly perishable agricultural produce, are typically used for external exchange (trade) rather than stored or preserved.

Agricultural, Animal, and Mineral Products

Maize - Maize is the staple food crop of the Chiapas Highlands and is grown by all Mayan societies (see discussion of subsistence, Chapter 3). Some of these societies (such as Chamula, Collier 1975: 109) are not self-sufficient in maize production and must trade for the balance; most seem to produce sufficient maize for their own needs, but have little or no surplus for trade; and a few Highland Maya societies are noted for having tradable maize surpluses. These last include Zinacantán, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Chenalhó, Larráinzar and Sivacá (see Appendix 2: Figure I for details and sources).

Other Produce - Aside from beans, and perhaps squash, which grow in all areas, the other agricultural produce can be separated according to temperature zones: tierra fría, tierra templada and tierra caliente (see Table 2). These zonations of crops are not absolute, as each plant species has its own particular set of environmental needs and thus may cross our arbitrary zonal boundaries. This is particularly true for many tierra fría crops, hence tierra fría produce and tierra templada produce are lumped together in the discussion below as "Highland" produce while tierra caliente crops are

TABLE 2

AGRICULTURAL ZONATION

Tierra Fría (ca. 2000 m. and above)

cabbage	[col; repollo]	garlic	[ajo]	cherries	[cerizas]
potatoes	[papas]	lettuce	[lechuga]	apples	[manzanas]
wheat	[trigo]	lima beans	[habas]	tomatoes	[tomates]
onions	[cebollas]	peaches	[duraznos]	radishes	[rábanos]
turnips	[nabos]	carrots		beets	

Tierra Templada (ca. 1000-2000 m.)

oranges	[naranjas]	zapotes		chirimoya	
avocados	[aguacates]	anona		chile	
chayote root		maguey	[ixtle]	wheat	[trigo]
peanuts	[manía; cacahuates]	limes	[limas]	citron	[cidra]

Tierra Caliente (ca. 1000 m. and below)

coffee	[café]	bananas	[guineos; plátanos]
cacao		pineapples	[piña]
caña (sugar cane)		tobacco	[tabaco]
mangos		cotton	[algodón]

called "Lowland" produce.

Chile is recorded as produced for trade in Cancuc and Pantelhó (Appendix 2: Figure 2). Highland fruits are produced for trade by Santa Marta, Magdalenas, Tenejapa and Oxchuc (Appendix 2: Figure 3). Highland vegetables, including beans, are produced in surplus by Chamula, Chenalhó, Tenejapa, Chalchihuitán, Cancuc and Zinacantán (Appendix 2: Figure 4). Lowland produce (coffee, caña, fruits, cotton) is recorded in surplus for at least ten communities (Appendix 2:

Figure 5). Wheat, grown in tierra fría and tierra templada for trade to the Ladinos, is produced by Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Chamula, Huixtán and Chenalhó (Appendix 3: Figure 6).

Plant Derivatives - These products have been at least minimally processed in some way. Copal, a pine-gum incense, is produced in tierra caliente by several communities: some Indian - San Lucas and San Bartolomé - and some Ladino - Chiapilla and Acala (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:83). Copal (pom in Tzotzil and Tzeltal) is universally used in religious and curing rituals by the Maya societies of Highland Chiapas. Few details of its distribution through trade are recorded, but it seems that it is dispersed by Ladino itinerant traders (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14) and apparently is not handled by Indian traders; hence, I do not map its distribution in Appendix 2.

Ocote, pitch-pine wood, is recorded as collected for trading purposes by Amatenango and Huixtán (Appendix 2: Figure 7). Tenejapa and Chamula are the only communities recorded to produce honey for trade purposes (to Chenalhó, Guiteras Holmes 1961:60), although apiculture is reported for Sivacá, Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón (Redfield & Villa Rojas 1939:110). Panela (brown sugar) is produced from caña (sugar cane) for trade by Cancuc and several lowland Tzeltal communities to the north (Appendix 2: Figure 8).

Aguardiente (literally: "fiery water"), also called trago (literally: "a draught of liquid"), is the local rum distilled from panela. The "legal" sources of aguardiente are in the hands of

Ladinos:

> About 8,000 liters of alcohol per day are trucked out of Pujiltic to rum-manufacturing factories... in Tuxtla and Comitan. The rum is distributed nationally under a brand name...Cheaper liquor made at Pujiltic is sold locally throughout the highlands, and it enjoys a virtual monopoly, since the government prohibits the home-manufacture of alcohol. However, one occasionally hears about clandestine stills in the area. (Hill 1964:88)[5]

Two sources of the "illegal" aguardiente are Amatenango and Chamula (Appendix 2: Figure 9). Collier (1975:174-176) describes the recent growth (since the late 1940s) of Indian "illegal" aguardiente production. The Bochil source mentioned by de la Peña (1951:1013) must be another "legal" source, probably in the hands of the Ladinos.

Chicha (the fermented juice of caña), produced in almost all Highland Maya communities, is the favourite drink at fiestas and Sunday markets and is widely traded on those occasions (Appendix 2: Figure 10).

Animals and Animal Products - Chickens, and to some extent turkeys, and their eggs are universally produced by the Maya societies of Highland Chiapas and always form a minor item of trade; hence, their distribution is not mapped. Similarly, pigs are universally raised - but only during the dry season when maize and other agricultural crops are not present to be damaged. These pigs are sold principally to the Cuxtitaleros, a group of Ladinos who have been studied by Plattner (1972) and who are discussed in the next chapter along with Ladino itinerant traders. Cattle are rarely raised by the Indians and when they are - as at Amatenango (J. Nash 1969:1/9) - it is for trade to the Ladinos. Sheep are raised in many communities, but it is their wool as woven fabrics which is traded, and hence is treated under "Manufactures," below. This leaves only the collection of snails by Zinacantecos for trade to the Chamulas at Easter time (Pozas 1959:108), and the production of bees' wax - for making candles - by Bachajón for trading purposes (Blom & LaFarge 1927:339).

Salt and Other Mineral Products - Sources of salt are limited in the Chiapas Highlands, with a resulting widespread salt trade (Appendix 2: Figure 11). Most of the Highlands is supplied with salt from the Indian community of Ixtapa, where it is produced by fire-evaporation of salty ground water.[6] A secondary source of salt is a number of Ladino beneficios near La Concordia in the Grijalva Basin which extract salt by solar evaporation of salty ground waters.[7] The salt produced in the paraje of Ats'am (= salt, Tzotzil) in Zinacantán apparently is restricted to internal use and is not traded (Vogt 1970:25-26).[8] De la Peña (1951:1205) notes that some salt from coastal salt works near Arriaga was taken for sale to the Ladino centres of Tuxtla Gutiérrez and Chiapa de Corzo (this would be during the A. D. 1940s); this may be the seacoast salt noted by Collier (1975:174) for the A. D. 1960s/1970s, as well as the salt noted for the two centres in the A. D. 1860s, 1890s and 1910s (Cámara Barbachano 1966:72-73).

Cal, (lime for the preparation of posol) appears to be produced for trade at Chamula, Chenalhó, Cancuc and Tenejapa (Appendix 2: Figure 12). Amber - an item of trade prehistorically and perhaps at the time of the Spanish conquest (Blom 1959) - seems to be of little importance in the ethnographic present. It has been mined at Simojovel at least from the A. D. 1920s to the 1960s (Blom 1959:24, 27; de la Peña 1951:1221; Navarrete & Lee 1969), but is sold by the Indian miners directly to Ladino jewelers in Simojovel and apparently not traded by the Indians. The Indians of Huetiupán may also mine amber (de la Peña 1951:1221) and perhaps those of Totolapa as well (Corzo 1943:88); whether they trade it or not is not recorded.

Manufactures

Pottery - "All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños" (Blom & LaFarge 1927:342), a generalization which seems to be fundamentally true: I find mention of pottery-making in nine Indian communities and three Ladino communities (Figure 10 and Table 3). For only four Indian communities is there evidence that no pottery is made: Aguacatenango (J. Nash 1969: 1/10 - 1/11), Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:51), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:39), and Larráinzar (Holland 1963:40). Of the pottery-making Indian communities only five seem to produce for trade purposes; of these, the three most prominent are Tenango, Amatenango and Chamula (Appendix 2: Figure 13).

Weaving - Only the weaving of clothing and carrying-bags is

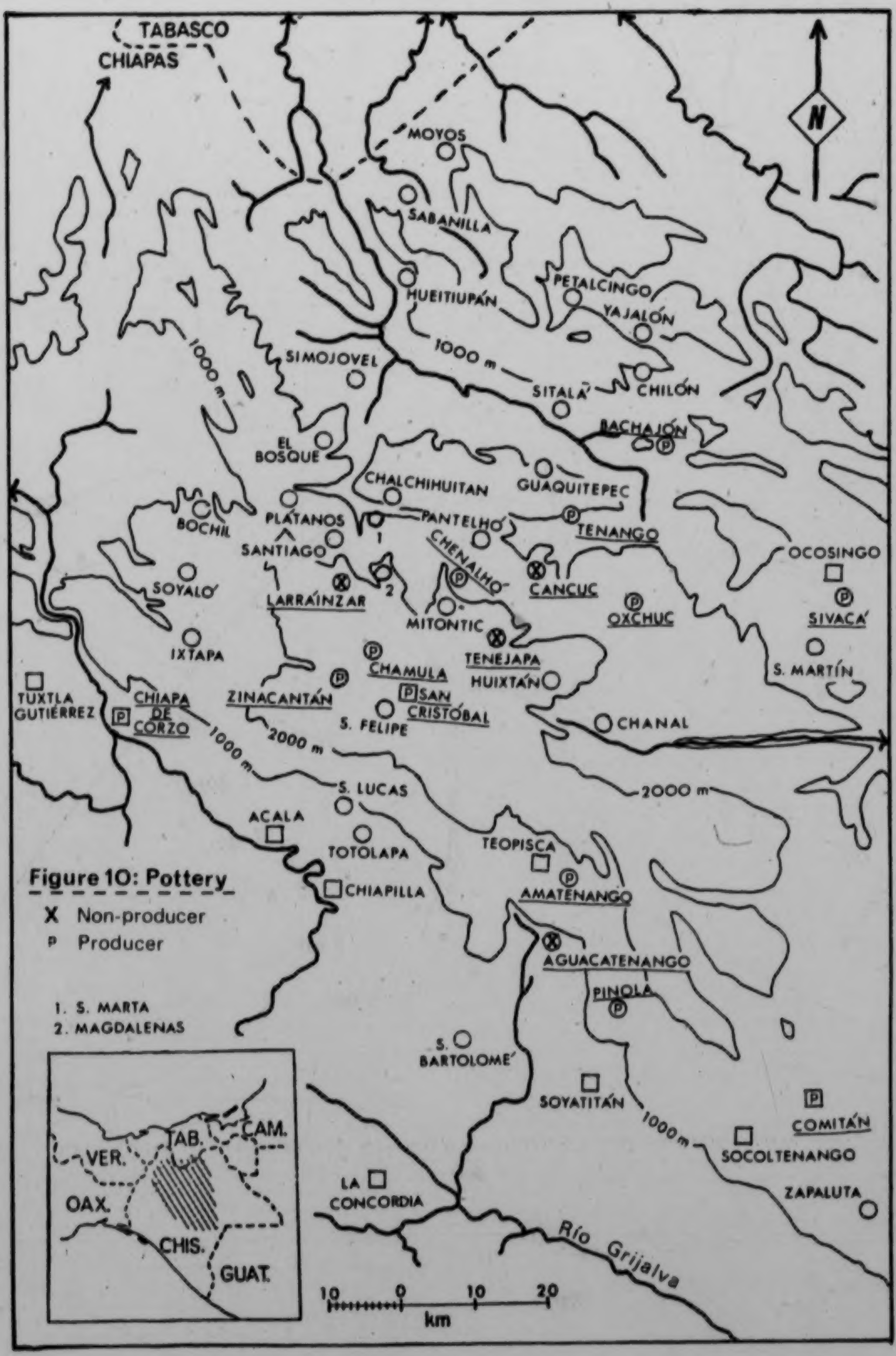


Figure 10: Pottery

X Non-producer
P Producer
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

TABLE 3

LOCAL POTTERY PRODUCTION

(See also Figure 10)

Community	Time Period	Source
Comitán (Ladino)	1930s	Basauri (1940a:241)
	1950s	J. Nash (1969:1/12)
San Cristóbal (Ladino)	1950s/1960s	Siverts (1969a:35)
	1960s	Collier (1974:173)
Chiapa de Corzo (Ladino)	1910s	Cámara Barbachano (1966:73)
	1940s	de la Peña (1951:1202), Foster (1955:25)
Sivacá (Tzeltal)	1920s	Blom & LaFarge (1927: 342)
	1940s	Foster (1955:27)
	1950s	Arana O. (1964:361)
Bachajón (Tzeltal)	1920s	Blom & LaFarge (1927: 339, 342)
Tenango (Tzeltal)	1870s	Cámara Barbachano (1966:72)
	1900	Starr (1902:71)
	1920s	Blom & LaFarge (1927: 382-383)
	1930s	Redfield & Villa Rojas (1939:111)
	1940s	Foster (1955:26)
Oxchuc (Tzeltal)	1940s	Lombardo Otero (1944:36, Plate XVIII), Villa Rojas (1946:542)
Amatenango (Tzeltal)	1870s	Cámara Barbachano (1966:72)
	1920s	Blom & LaFarge (1927: 396)
	1930s	Redfield & Villa Rojas

TABLE 3 (cont.)

Community	Time Period	Source
Amatenango (Tzeltal) (cont.)	1930s	(1939:111)
	1950s	M. Nash (1961)
	1950s/1960s	J. Nash (1970:46-57); Culbert (1965:45-46)
	1960s	Collier (1975:167-173)
Pinola (Tzeltal)	1960s	Hill (1964:97), Hermitte (1970:11)
Chenalhó (Tzotzil)	1940s/1950s	Guiteras Holmes (1961:53)
Chamula (Tzotzil)	1940s	Pozas (1959:98-99)
	1950s/1960s	Culbert (1965:45-46)
	1960s	Collier (1975:173)
Zinacantán (Tzotzil)	1960s	Collier (1975:173)

considered here; coarsely woven cordage, basketry, etc. is dealt with later. It seems that the weaving of cotton clothing for community consumption was fairly general ca. 1900, but has been on the decline due to increasing use of machine-manufactured, Ladino-style clothing. All production of cotton textiles for trade appears to rest in the hands of Ladinos,[9] except for cotton weaving for trade at San Bartolome.[10]

Collier (1975:173) notes that the weaving of wool is general among the Indian communities of Highland Chiapas, but the only community noted as weaving for trade is Chamula (Appendix 2: Figure 14). Guiteras Holmes (1961:52) notes that there is no weaving of wool at Chenalhó. Woven carrying-bags (morrales) made of maguey-fibres (ixtle) are reported as produced for trade principally at Oxchuc, but also at Zinacantán (Appendix 2: Figure 15).

Cordage and Basketry - Both of these items are probably widely produced for local consumption, but only two communities are noted as producing for trade: basketry at Chamula and cordage and nets at Oxchuc (Appendix 2: Figure 16).

Manos and Metates - Two communities are noted to produce these items for trade: Chamula and Tenejapa (Appendix 2: Figure 17).

Other Manufactures - Chamula is the community noted for the production of other types of manufactures: musical instruments (Appendix 2: Figure 18), leather goods (Appendix 2: Figure 19), and wooden furniture (Appendix 2: Figure 20). Various other items, including wooden bowls, wooden spoons, spindles and weaving combs, were produced in the 1930s and 1940s at Chamula, Larráinzer and perhaps other Tzotzil towns for trade to the Zoques of Tuxtla Gutiérrez (Cordry & Cordry 1941:47, 106, 116).

Services

"Services" all involve the payment of an individual Indian or group of Indians for the performance of some physical or spiritual activity. Among the services treated below are those labelled "muleteers," *cargadores*, "agricultural labour," "miscellaneous wage labour," and "curing." Perhaps the custom manufacture of craft goods, which involves reciprocity exchange, should be listed here as a "service"; however, as it is described in the next chapter no further mention of it will be made here.

Muleteers - Mule trains have been an important part of the transportation system in Chiapas during the ethnographic present, declining in importance only since the advent of the Pan American Highway and other new automobile/truck roads (see the final section of this chapter for a discussion of communication systems). It is my impression that the majority of the arrieros (muleteers) in Highland Chiapas are and have been Ladinos.[11] None the less, some Indians have also kept numbers of mules (and horses) which they would hire out for commercial packing (with themselves as the muleteers). The two groups particularly noted for this are the Zinacantecos and Chamulas,[12] although the Indians in the district around Ocosingo are also recorded as engaging in this activity.[13]

Cargadores - A cargador (also called a tameme) is a human carrier of cargo, utilizing a tump-strap (mecapal) attached to a cargo-net. Most sources list a weight of about 100 lbs. (45 kgs.) as the normal load for a cargador in the Chiapas Highlands (Amram 1937:25; de la Peña 1951:392), but Blom & LaFarge (1927:395) note that one of their Cancuquero cargadores carried a weight of "over 200 lbs. on his back" from Cancuc to Tenejapa within a day.

Use of Indians to haul cargo began in the colonial period, probably as a form of corvee labour:

> The Indians served as beasts of burden and were the ones who carried cacao, añil indigo, wax and other commercial products to Veracruz, Isla del Carmen, Tabasco and Guatemala; for which purpose set out caravans

> of three or four hundred Indians under the care of ten or twelve Spaniards, veritable droves traveling over the rugged trails, in which not a few Indians met their deaths and even more became victims of tropical diseases. (Trens 1957:234-235).[14]

Trens also gives itineraries for three of the routes used by *cargadores* (see Table 4). According to de la Peña (1951:390) these same routes were used by *cargadores* during most of the 1800s - again possibly as corvée labourers on at least some occasions. He also notes the hiring of Indians as *cargadores*: "At the end of the century [ca. 1900] Indian *tamemes* continued to be the principal means of transport for taking down products to Tabasco, at 46 kgs. of cargo per Indian and a *real* per league... (de la Peña 1951:392).[15]

Prominent among the Indians hiring out as *cargadores* were the Tenejapecos and Indians from Petalcingo, although Indians from Cancuc, Bachajón, Oxchuc and Huixtán are also noted (Blom & LaFarge 1927:393, 395; de la Peña 1951:396; Amram 1937:25). Most of these accounts derive from the 1920s and 1930s; since that time there are very few accounts of Indians working as *cargadores* despite the intensive ethnographic work of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.[16] De la Peña (1951:396), referring to the area near Ocosingo, states: "The coffee-producing *fincas* of the Germans, Americans, and French utilized *tamemes* to take down the harvest to the river ports of Tapijulapa Tabasco and El Salto [Salto de Agua, Chiapas] until the year 1933, in which the distribution of [*ejido*] lands began and they [the *finqueros*]

TABLE 4

CARGADOR TRAILS DURING THE SPANISH COLONIAL PERIOD, MODIFIED FROM TRENS (1957:235)

(See also Figure 11)

Route From Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal), Chiapas to San Juan Bautista, Tabasco:

Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal), Chiapas
[Via San Juan Chamula]
San Andrés (Larráinzar)
[Via Santiago]
Plátanos
San Juan (El Bosque)
Simojovel
San Pedro (Huetiupán)
Sacaltic
Amatán, Chiapas
Tapijulapa, Tabasco
Jalapa
San Juan Bautista, Tabasco

Route From Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal), Chiapas to Veracruz, Veracruz:

Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal), Chiapas
Zinacantán
Ixtapa
San Gabriel
Osumacinta
Chicoasén
Coapilla
Ocotepec
Chapultenango
Nicapa
Paso Real
Sunuapa, Chiapas
Boca del Platanar
Huimanguillo, Tabasco
Oteapa
Paso Real de San Antonio
Hacienda del Rosario
Tembladeras
Hacienda de Urgel
Goazacoalcos (Coatzacoalcos), Veracruz
Jaltipán
Acayucán
Tlacotalpán
Alvarado
Medellín
Veracruz, Veracruz

Route from Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal), Chiapas to Isla Del Carmen, Campeche:

Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal), Chiapas
Huistán (Huixtán)
Oxchuc
Cancuc
Guaquitepec
Sitalá
Chilón
Yajalón
Tumbala
San Pedro
Palenque
Catazajá, Chiapas
Boca del Río Chiquito
Boca del Usumacinta
Amatitán, Tabasco
San Joaquín
Palizada, Campeche
Las Cruces
Isla del Carmen, Campeche

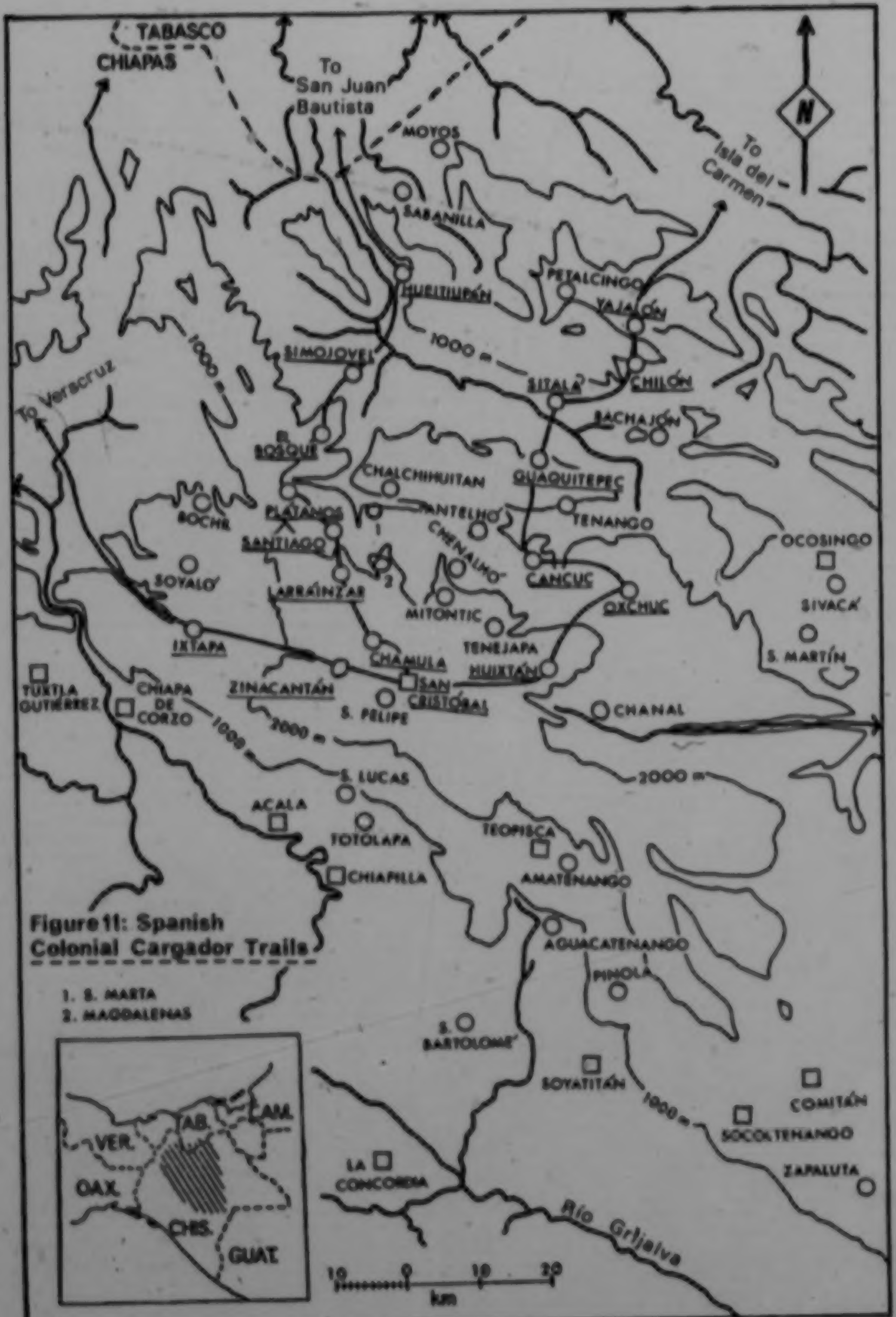


Figure 11: Spanish Colonial Cargador Trails

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
To San Juan Bautista
To Isla del Carmen
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
To Veracruz
1000 m
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
QUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLATANOS
ANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
1
2
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
HUIXTÁN
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
2000 m
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
1000 m
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10
0
10
20
km

had to buy mules and recondition the trails..."[17] The communities previously listed as providing cargadores for hire are mostly ones noted for a scarcity of land, hence the ejido program - by at least temporarily alleviating this scarcity - appears to have eliminated cargador labour from the scene.

Other Forms of Wage Labour - The Indians from land-poor communities (such as Chamula or Mitontic) will work as seasonal agricultural labourers in other communities, receiving their wages in maize (Guiteras Holmes 1961:48, 62). Most other wage labour is for Ladinos or other non-Indians. As in the case of cargadores, it is typically the Indians from the land-poor (and thus non-self sufficient) communities who must do wage labour for non-Indians. Some of this wage labour is located relatively near to the Indian communities, for instance labour on highway construction, miscellaneous day-labour in San Cristóbal, or at the Pujiltic sugar refinery and the rice mill near Pinola (Pozas 1959:123; Cancian 1972:16; Hermitte 1970:13). Such near-by wage labour is short-term and often sufficiently close to home communities to permit daily "commuting." Of a different order altogether is wage labour on the coffee fincas of the Soconusco region on the Pacific coast, where an extended period is spent away from home harvesting the coffee in a hot lowland region subject to various of the virulent tropical diseases. Not surprisingly, this form of wage-labour was and is not valued by the Indians, being something of a last resort, which reluctance on the part of the potential labour force was countered by the finqueros by means of the infamous enganche until such practices were suppressed by governmental action in the late 1930s (Pozas 1952).

Curing - In the highlands of Chiapas and Guatemala curing is a religious activity and falls in the province of the Mayan shamans. Disease is interpreted as originating in soul-loss, transgressions by the sufferer or relations of the sufferer, or malevolent action by another shaman or a brujo ("witch"). Curing is a professional service and can be classed on the borderline between reciprocity exchange and market exchange (Figure 1) because, while the service is paid for (hence, is like market exchange), there are strong elements of personalization which render the exchange more like reciprocity exchange. These elements of personalization include first, the established reputation and trustworthiness of the curer; secondly, the frequent necessity of the patient confessing transgressions of a personal and intimate nature; thirdly, the success or failure of the cure enhances or diminishes the reputation of the shaman (i.e., there is a positive/negative feedback relationship here). Much curing is done within the community, hence is internal exchange; however, curing by foreign shamans is one of the most frequent personalized external exchanges (see discussion in Guiteras Holmes 1961:17-18).

One of the important aspects of curing is the ritual exchange between the human and spirit worlds. Much of curing involves an exchange of ritual goods - candles, incense, aguardiente, sacrificed chickens, etc. - and prayer between the patient and the spirits (the saints, etc.) who can effect the cure; in this exchange the shaman acts as an intermediary, a middleman. And this is generally true of all religious ritual among the Highland Maya.

Vogt (1976) has studied the ritual exchanges between the Zinacantecos and the spirits of their community, and shows that prayer and ritual goods are considered food for the spirits, which is exchanged for the spirits' beneficial influence on human affairs. The striking metaphor used by Zinacantecos for prayer and ritual goods - "tortillas for the gods" - is even more striking when one finds the same metaphor used by a _chimán_ (shaman) of Santiago Chimaltenango in the Cuchumatanes of Guatemala:

> "The _chimán_ is a servant of God," said Diego Jiménez [a _chimán_], and his pay is "the _tortillas_ of God"... Although most of the money goes to the soothsayer for his use, he spends part of it to buy candles and incense to offer to God. Each year when the _chimán_ renews his power with God...he prays, "Open your stomach, God," to accept the _tortillas_ during the next year. "Without the _chimanes_ God would have no _tortillas._ He would starve. So a _chimán_ must work hard," said Diego Jiménez...(Wagley 1949:69).

A point of particular interest to this study is that not only does one make ritual exchanges with the spirits of one's own community, but also with those of others:

> When an Indian from another group visits Chenalhó unaccompanied by a prayermaker he will solicit the services of a well reputed Pedrano _rezador_ (prayermaker) to introduce him to Saint Peter or Santa Cruz (Holy Cross) and pray for him (Guiteras Holmes 1961:18).

To return now to curing, June Nash (1970:153) records a ritual exchange at Amatenango where the curer calls upon the saints of six surrounding communities to help those of his own effect the desired cure. This indicates an integration and cooperation on the spiritual level which surpasses anything found on the human level in the Chiapas Highlands. This integration is expressed in the recognition by Chiapas Indians that saints of other communities have the power to effect their own lives directly:

> The saint of greatest importance in this respect [providing rainfall] is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk... During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people [from Amatenango] walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzoontahal [Amatenango] are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás (J. Nash 1970:45).

Community Specializations

Many of the Maya communities of Highland Chiapas have reputations as "specialists" in producing particular crops, commodities or crafts, or in performing particular services. In some cases these reputations have become stereotypes which serve as ethnic markers: "Many highland Tzeltal natives... stereotype Zinacantecos as salt merchants" despite the fact that relatively few Zinacantecos are ever actually involved in the salt trade (Collier 1975:174, 177). Such reputations and stereotypes have tended to obscure for outside observers the true nature of specializations in Highland Chiapas communities.

Part of the problem revolves around what is meant by the term "specialization" in anthropological literature. When the term is used in conjunction with "community" it implies that a community, or a portion of a community, concentrates on growing, fabricating or providing a product or service for trade to other communities. The phrase "community specialization" thus can cover a broad spectrum of situations: from communities so specialized in production that most basic necessities must be obtained through trade, to communities where specialty activity is limited to a small minority of the population - as in the Zinacanteco example cited above. This imprecision is particularly unfortunate for the present study as the degree of specialization characteristic of communities in Chiapas is quite different from that characteristic of Guatemalan communities. For the present discussion I will divide "community specialization" into a major degree, characteristic of Guatemala ("Perhaps Midwestern Guatemala is the extreme case where there are communities as dependent upon trade for basic needs as are cities," Tax 1952:45), and a minor degree, characteristic of Chiapas.

In Chiapas a "minor degree of community specialization" means that (a) the specialization is a supplement to the basic subsistence activity, hence (b) the specialization is almost always a part-time activity; (c) the specialization does not involve a monopoly of the activity by the community; and (d) the specialization does not involve a strict dependency relationship with another community.[18]

Community specialization in Chiapas has been studied by Collier (1975:161-181). He has concluded that the basis of "ethnic" (community) specialization is not "a simple correlation between the distribution of resources and ethnic [community] boundaries" (1975:167), but instead rests largely on the regionally recognized specialty reputations of particular communities. These "expectations" act as positive feedback to maintain the specializations.[19] These "traditions" of specialization are not static but gradually change to reflect new developments (such as the florescence of distilling in Chamula). Collier stresses, however, that these reputations or traditions of specialization are stereotypes which present over-simplified views, such as the Zinacanteco-as-salt trader example or the stress on Amatenango as the pottery-making community despite the near universality of pottery production in the Chiapas Highlands.

Table 5 presents the known community specializations for the Chiapas Highlands. It is notable that Chamula has many minor specializations: symptomatic of the chronic over-population/soil erosion/maize deficit crisis which forces Chamulas to turn their hands to whatever will produce an income.

TABLE 5

COMMUNITY SPECIALIZATIONS IN HIGHLAND CHIAPAS

Capitalized specializations are those for which a community has a reputation.

*Formerly   **Only since A. D. 1940s   +On the decline
++On the rise

Community	Specialization(s)
Amatenango	POTTERY, wheat
Cancuc	CHILE
Chamula	TRADERS, AGUARDIENTE**, WOOL WEAVING, DAY LABOUR; Muleteers+, manos & metates, pottery++, musical instruments, leathergoods, wooden furniture, highland vegetables
Huixtán	wheat
Ixtapa	SALT
Oxchuc	maguey
Petalcingo	CARGADORES*
San Bartolomé	COTTON WEAVING+
Simojovel	tobacco, coffee, amber+
Tenango	POTTERY
Tenejapa	HIGHLAND FRUIT (ORANGES), CARGADORES*, traders
Zinacantán	SALT TRADERS, muleteers*

COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS

Communications Systems Not Utilized by Indians

In the Chiapas Highlands there are a number of communications systems maintained by the national Ladino culture which are seldom - if ever - utilized by members of the Mayan societies. These include the telephone, telegraph and radio-communication systems; the national postal service; and airplane transportation. Most of these communications systems exist to facilitate more-or-less rapid voice or written contact between distant individuals or organizations, whereas the communication horizons of most Indian individuals are so closely circumscribed that a need for such long-ranging contacts does not exist. Also, the use of these tele-communications systems generally presumes a level of knowledge and education in the Ladino culture not attained by most Indian individuals. There is no railroad system penetrating the Highlands, hence railroads are not a factor in the Highland communication scheme.

Utilized Communications Systems

The communications systems utilized by Indians of the Chiapas Highlands are all forms of ground transportation: trails, various kinds of roads, and modern paved highways.

Trails: Trails for humans on foot and pack animals constitute a part of the geographer's "Precolumbian" landscape and technology:

> Footpaths...criss-cross the landscape and
> make the tightest, most intricate mesh of
> transport lines. Over these routes move a

> great quantity of goods carried on the backs of peasants using the tump-line (mecapal) or by horses or mules. All settlements are connected by these paths (Hill 1964:8).

The Indians are the chief users of the trail system, although Ladino peddlers with their mules also make use of them. It is apparent that most trails receive little or no maintenance, hence in many cases become active agents of erosion (see the photographs facing page 378 in Starr 1908).

Roads: Various kinds of roads are present in the Chiapas Highlands. The earliest appear to be the cobblestone roads (caminos de herradura) built during Spanish colonial times. These were intended as cart-roads, but were and are used by foot traffic and mule trains as well. The use of carts has always been restricted to Ladinos. Once built, the cobblestone roads were poorly maintained, as witnessed by the frequent lamentations of colonial travelers (Navarrete 1973). Apparently caminos de herradura continued to be built from time to time until the early 1900s. With the advent of the automobile many cart-roads were modified for use by trucks and automobiles (Hill 1964:10; Cámara Barbachano 1966:80), but these were dirt and gravel tracks usually serviceable only in the dry season. The 1940s and 1950s saw the advent and completion of the paved Pan-American Highway, from which paved branch roads are being built. At present there is bus service along the Pan-American Highway: both first class (sin gallinas) and second class (con gallinas), with Ladinos typically using the former and Indians the latter. Hauling by trucks has displaced carts and mule trains in most areas, with Ladinos dominating as both owners and drivers, although Indians from a few communities are beginning to own and drive trucks (Vogt 1969a: 29-30; J. Nash 1970:86-87).

Trails and Roads of Late Spanish Colonial Times

It is pertinent to delineate the road system present in the Chiapas Highlands during the late years of the Spanish Colonial Period since that system had already established the basic pattern of intercommunity road linkages which was used until construction of the Pan-American Highway. Figure 11 illustrates the cargador trails leading from the Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal) to the various ports on the Gulf of Mexico (see also Table 4). These routes are listed by Trens (1957:235) who, however, does not describe the roads and trails. My main source for late colonial roads is Navarrete (1973) whose work deals most thoroughly with roads and trails of Spanish colonial times, despite its title. Figure 12 summarizes the road system from ca. A.D. 1770 to 1820; please note that the precise routes between communities are uncertain in most cases, thus those shown should not be relied upon as correct in detail. I believe that the Camino Real was a camino de herradura, and some of the other roads must have been as well, but there is little specific information. It is - I think - symptomatic of the lack of importance of Ciudad Real and its Spanish colonial society that it is by-passed by the Camino Real between

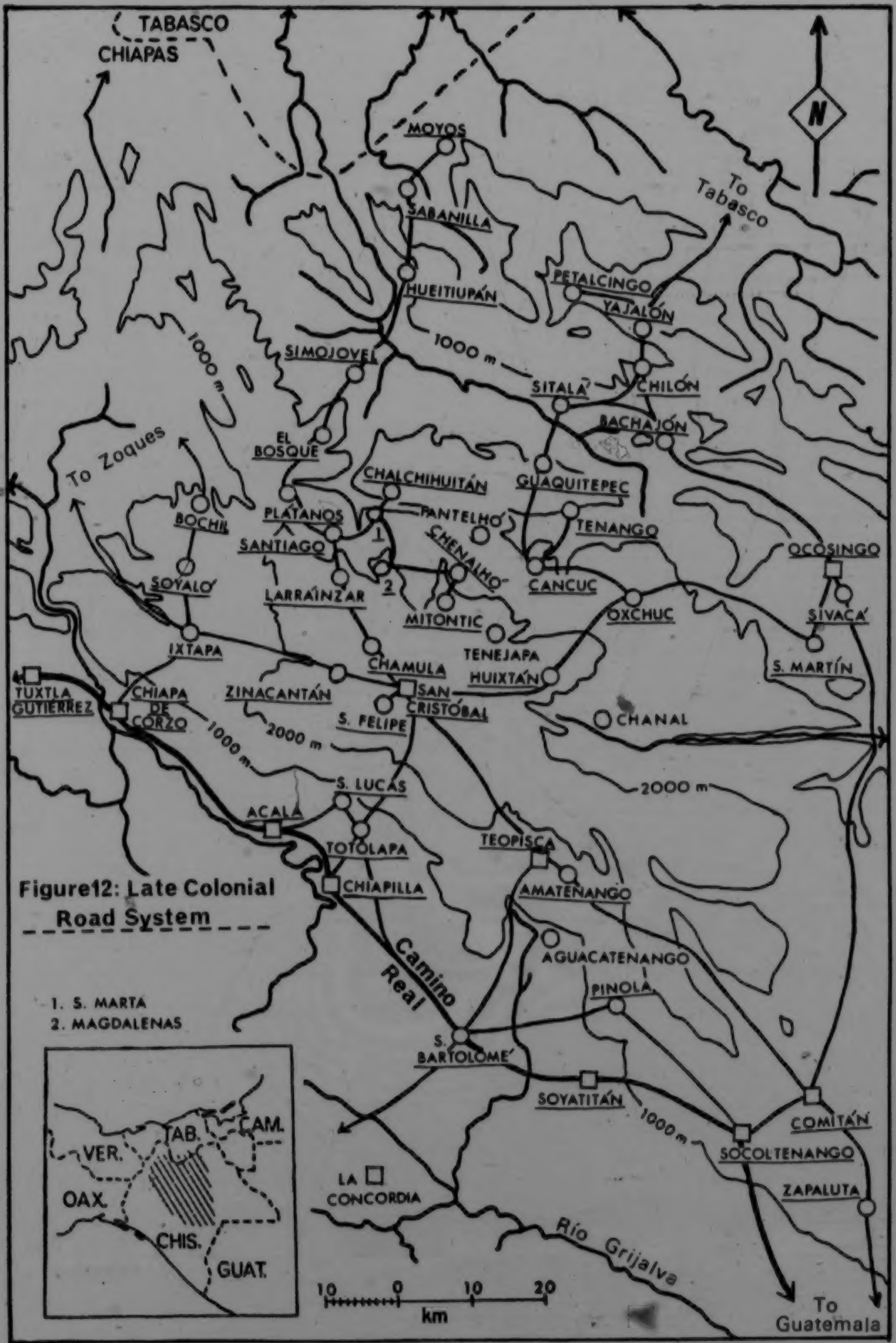


Figure12: Late Colonial Road System

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
To Tabasco
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
To Zoques
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITÁN
GUAQUITEPEC
PLATANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRAÍNZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALÁ
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
Camino Real
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km
To Guatemala

Guatemala and Nueva España.

Trails and Roads Before the Pan-American Highway (ca. A. D. 1820-1940)

In this section the major routes will be briefly discussed on an individual basis, while Figure 13 shows the road and trail system in its entirety.

Tuxtla Gutiérrez to San Cristóbal: The main ascent into the Highlands from the west continued to follow the route established in colonial times: Tuxtla to Chiapa to Ixtapa to Zinacantán to San Cristóbal. This route appears to have been a cart-road, later reconditioned (widened and graveled) for automobiles but impassable in the rainy season to anything but foot traffic and pack animals.[20]

San Cristóbal to Comitán: This is a main route through the Highlands, but there is no detailed description. This route is from San Cristóbal to Teopisca to Amatenango to Comitán.

Chiapa to Comitán: This is basically the old camino real which passes up along the north side of the Grijalva Basin. This route is Chiapa to Acala to Chiapilla to San Bartolomé to Soyatitán to Socoltenango to Comitán, with an alternate route from San Bartolomé to Pinola to Socoltenango. These are old caminos de herradura which were reconditioned as truck roads in the 1930s and formed the principal route between Tuxtla Gutiérrez and Comitán before the Pan-American Highway rerouted traffic through the Highlands.[21]

San Cristóbal to Tabasco, via Cancuc: This route follows the old cargador route of Spanish colonial times, except that the first leg

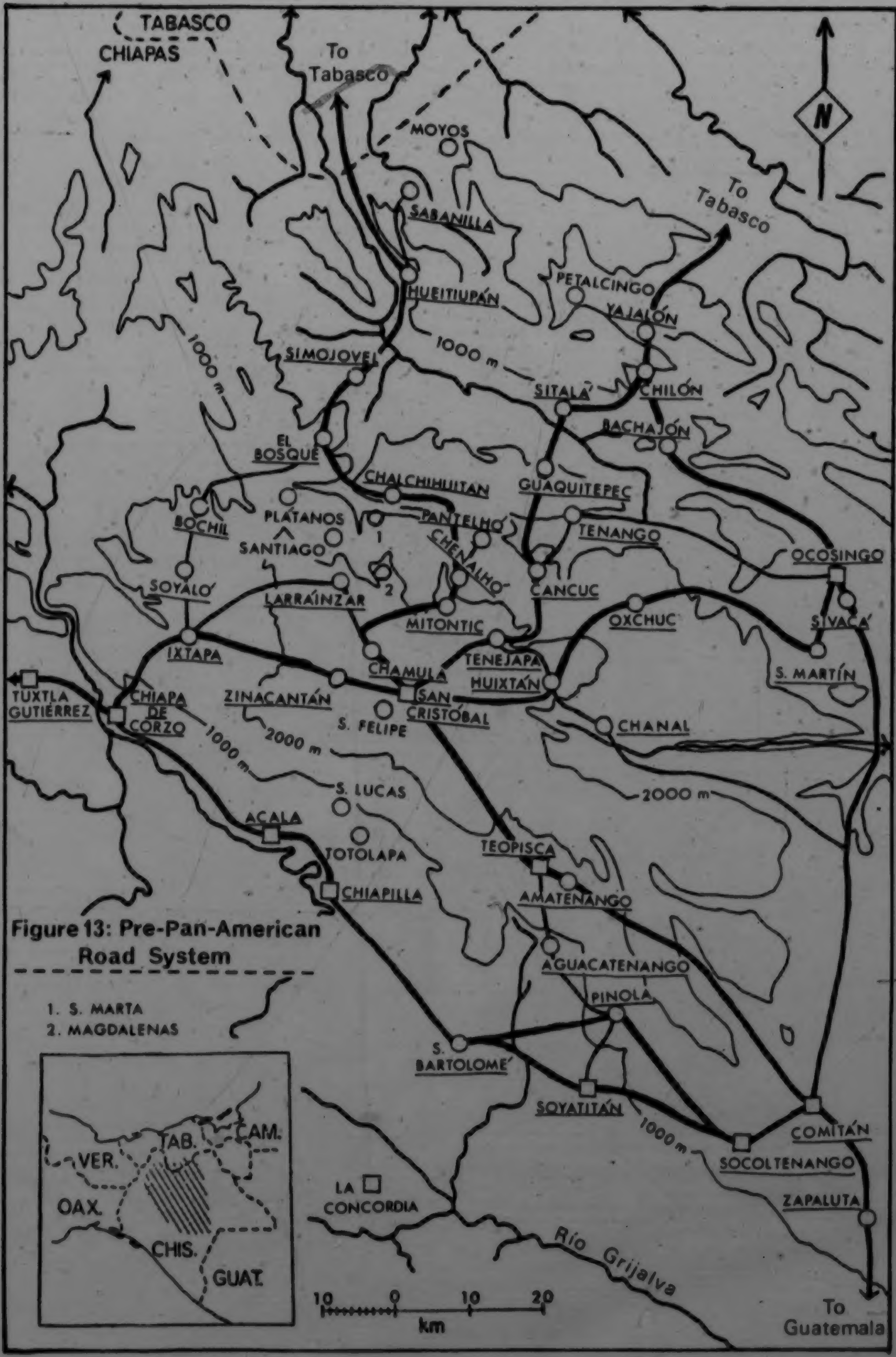

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
To Tabasco
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
To Tabasco
N
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
SANTIAGO
1
2
PANTELHO
CHENALHO
TENANGO
OCOSINGO
SOYALO
LARRÁINZAR
CANCUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
1000 m
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
To Guatemala
10 0 10 20
km
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.

Figure 13: Pre-Pan-American Road System

1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS

does not reach Cancuc via Huixtán and Oxchuc but by a shorter route via Tenejapa. It seems that sometime after independence from Spain a new cart-road was built from San Cristóbal through Tenejapa to Cancuc.[22]

San Cristóbal to Ocosingo, via Cancuc: This seems to be a relatively minor route (compared to the one discussed below) built as a cart-road but by 1925 fallen into great disrepair (Blom & LaFarge 1927:386-387). From Cancuc the route proceeds via Tenango to Ocosingo.

San Cristóbal to Ocosingo, via Oxchuc: This route runs from San Cristóbal to Huixtán to Oxchuc to San Martín (Abasolo) to Ocosingo. This is another survival from Spanish colonial times and seems to have been the principal trade route between San Cristóbal and Ocosingo.[23]

Comitán to Ocosingo and Tabasco: Another old colonial route, this passes from Comitán to Sivacá to Ocosingo to Bachajón to Chilón, where it joins the main route from San Cristóbal to Tabasco.[24]

San Cristóbal to Tabasco, via Simojovel: This route partially follows the cargador route of Spanish colonial times, at least from San Juan El Bosque north, but between Chamula and El Bosque seems to be rerouted along new caminos de herradura. Precise information on this rerouting is sparse and sometimes ambiguous.[25] The route is from San Cristóbal to Chamula to Mitontic to Chenalhó to Chalchihuitán to San Juan El Bosque to Simojovel to Hueitiupán to

Tabasco. Beyond Simojovel the route was definitely a trail, possibly not even suitable for pack animals.

Various Minor Routes: These are mentioned or indicated on maps in de la Peña (1951:395), Wagner (1960:36), Amram (1937:20), Cordry & Cordry (1941:Plate I), Hill (1964:10), and Waibel (1946).

The Pan-American Highway and the Modern Road System

The Pan-American Highway, a modern paved highway, was built through Chiapas to the Guatemalan border in the 1940s and 1950s. It passes through the Highlands and seems to follow basically the same route as former roads between Tuxtla Gutiérrez/San Cristóbal/Comitán, except that it by-passes Ixtapa and Zinacantán. With this modern highway, and paved branch roads diverging from it, San Cristóbal has gained added importance as a communications centre by reorienting the trade of towns in the Grijalva Basin away from Comitán and towards San Cristóbal (Hill 1964:11). With increasing speed and ease of long distance transport (via trucks) Chamulas and Ladino traders have been increasing the radius of their activities (Hill 1964:96; Plattner 1975a:60). Figure 14 shows the modern road system of paved highways, graveled and dirt roads (based on García de Miranda y Falcón de Gyves 1972:38-39, and Esparza Torres n. d.), but is limited to truck/automobile routes and does not depict trails and older roads still used by foot and pack animal traffic.

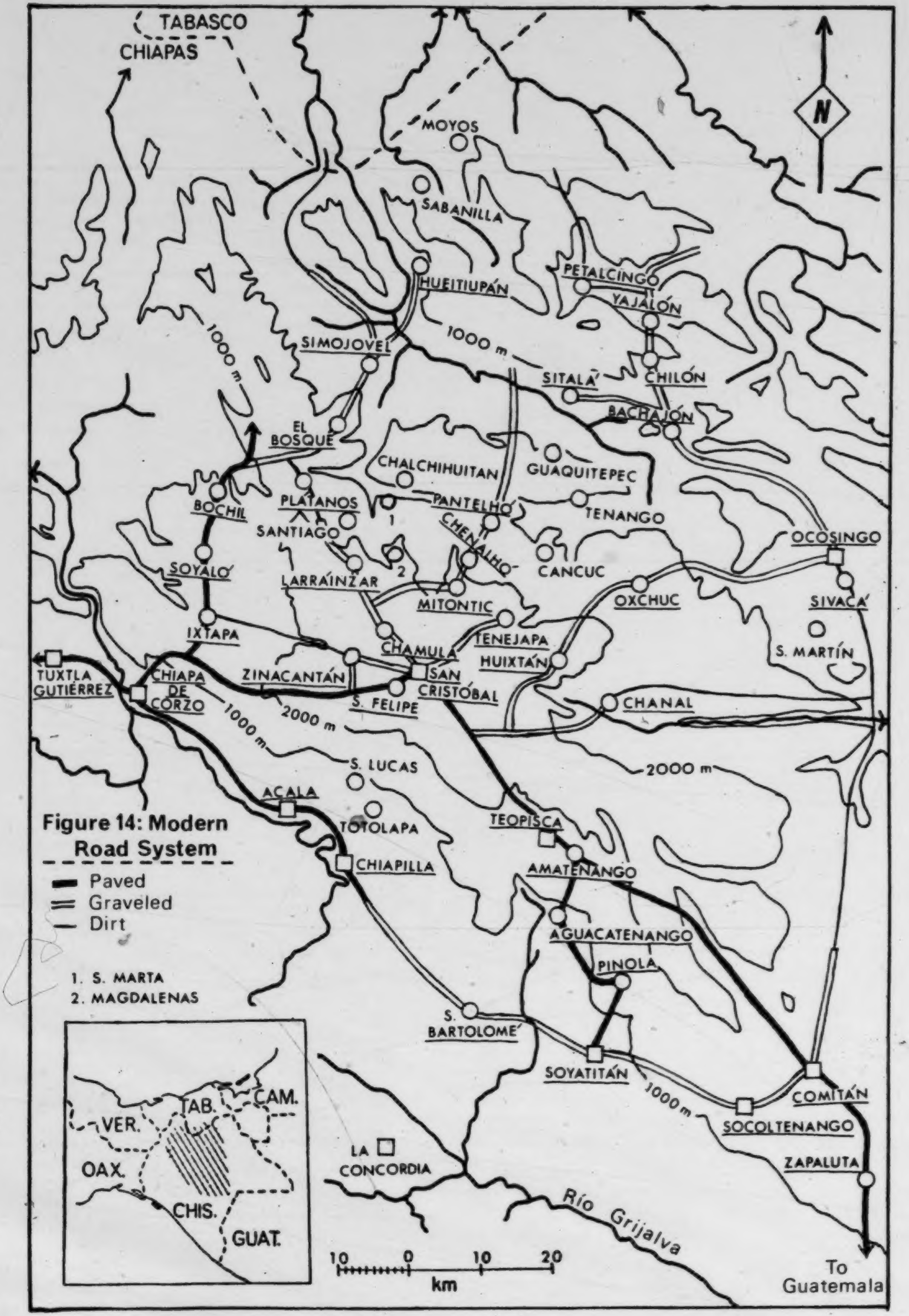


Figure 14: Modern Road System

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
1
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
2
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
S. MARTÍN
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
To Guatemala
Paved
Graveled
Dirt
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10
0
10
20
km

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

[1] On March 1, 1978 the Mexican peso was equivalent to 5.2 cents Canadian currency, or 4.7 cents U.S. currency (source: Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Edmonton).

[2] The real currency of México consisted of copper and silver coins valued at 1/16, 1/8, 1/4, 1/2, 1, 2, 4 and 8 reales (8 reales = 1 peso) and gold coins valued at 1/2, 1, 2, 4 and 8 escudos (16 reales = 1 escudo). The last of this coinage - an 8 reales silver piece - was minted in 1897, with the smaller denominations last issued in 1872 (Yeoman 1970:314-316). However, it is possible that it was only the terminology of the real system which was being used in Cancuc and Tenejapa in 1944, as Laughlin (1975:330) recorded such terminology at Zinacantán in the 1960s.

[3] Guatemala minted a real currency (8 reales = 1 peso) until 1912 (Yeoman 1970:222-226), which may throw further light on the usage of reales in Chiapas noted above. A preference for silver (as opposed to copper or bronze) coins is retained in the Tzotzil term bats'i tak'in ("real money, true money"), used strictly for silver coinage (Delgaty 1964:4, 46; Laughlin 1975:26).

[4] Fernando Cámara Barbachano (1945a:84) provides the most extensive description of bartering:

> La acción de mercarse productos entre los
> indígenas se lleva a cabo, en muchas casos,

> por medio del trueque. Uno da cierto producto y el vendedor lo acepta por determinada cantidad y le da de su producto en venta. Varios ejemplos de trueque fueron: 6 naranjas por 3 coles incluyendo las hojas; 3 trozos de caña de unos 30 cms. de largo por 3 coles; 3 trozos de caña del mismo tamaño anterior por un repollo; 12 naranjas por la mitad de un pan de sal; 6 naranjas por 3 trozos de ocote; 6 naranjas por una jícara de "chicha". Parece que el trueque se lleva a cabo exclusivamente entre los indígenas, pero cabe la posibilidad de que los ladinos lo hagan aunque en mucha menor escala.

[5] Comitán has long been known for its famous - or perhaps infamous - aguardiente called comiteco, which has been produced since the A.D. 1860s and possibly earlier (Cámara Barbachano 1966:72-73; Corzo 1945:66; Star 1908:51).

[6] In the 1940s salty water was collected from salt wells near Ixtapa and evaporated the year round in large metal vessels over wood fires (de la Peña 1951:1209-1210). Earlier in the century it appears that the salt was evaporated in pottery jars (de Mendizábal 1928: 163-164). The result is a white salt, which is shaped into cylindrical loaves wrapped in petates (rush mats) and sold to Indian traders - Zinacantecos and perhaps Chamulas (Starr 1902:71; Pozas 1959:106). For additional descriptions of salt collecting at Ixtapa see Chanona R. (1946:23) and Corzo (1943:80, 83).

[7] In the 1940s the production of this salt was limited to the dry season (November to April) as the salt springs are located in stream beds and can only be approached once the water level has dropped.

The basic description of the La Concordia salt works is given by de la Peña (1951:1206-1209). De Mendizábal (1928:166-167) adds that this salt is red in colour, due to iron impurities. Another brief description is given by Corzo (1943:86, 88).

[8] This salt, like that of Ixtapa, is fire-evaporated from water drawn from a salt-well (Vogt 1969a:169-171).

[9] Comitán is noted since the 1890s as a centre of cotton textile production (Cámara Barbachano 1966:73; Blom & LaFarge 1927:335; Basauri 1940a:241; Corzo 1943:66, J. Nash 1969:1/13, and 1970:61). The Barrio de Mexicanos in San Cristóbal produces much of the blue cloth used by Indian women as skirt (enagua) material and which forms one of the major goods of the Ladino itinerant merchants (Siverts 1969a:35-36; de la Peña 1951:1033; Plattner 1975a:61).

[10] San Bartolomé apparently has been noted for weaving for some time as it is mentioned as "famous" in this regard in the 1890s (Starr 1908:50). During the 1930s/1940s cotton cloth was traded to the Zoques of Tuxtla Gutiérrez (Cordry & Cordry 1941:47). Presently its trade in textiles may be comparatively little, as only trade with Ladinos resident in San Bartolomé (Salovesh 1965:321-322) and to Amatenangueros (J. Nash 1970:61) is recorded. It is possible that cotton textile weaving at San Bartolomé may derive (at least in part) from the weaving school for Indians set up at Teopisca in 1791 by Bishop Gabriel de Olivares y Benito, but which lasted little more than

a decade. Trens (1957:215-216) gives the best account of this school, which is also mentioned by Blom & LaFarge (1927:410), and described - but erroneously situated in San Bartolomé - by Corzo (1943:87-88) and Basauri (1940a:216). These latter two authors attribute the decline of San Bartolomé cotton weaving to competition with commercial textiles from Oaxaca and Puebla [Corzo appears to draw his information from Basauri (1940a), and hence repeats the latter's mistakes.]

Basauri (1940b:396) reports a textile (presumably cotton) being manufactured at Ixtapa and traded to Simojovel and the Zoque towns of Mezcalapa and Pichucalco; unfortunately Basauri often provides erroneous information and thus cannot be considered a reliable source. In this regard it should be noted that the Cordrys (1941:124) - writing on weaving at the same time as Basauri's work - do not note textile production at Ixtapa, but instead record a textile trade into Ixtapa from Tuxtla Gutiérrez!

[11] The inhabitants of the Barrio de San Diego in San Cristóbal are noted as muleteers running pack-trains to outlying Ladino towns and Indian centres during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, particularly to the coffee-growing areas near Ocosingo (de la Peña 1951:1034; Siverts 1969a:36). Siverts (1969a:57) also notes the Ladinos of Oxchuc as engaging in mule-packing during the 1950s and 1960s. De la Peña (1951:398) notes the inhabitants of Zapaluta (La Trinitaria) as being muleteers since Spanish Colonial times.

[12] Zinacantán is noted for arriería (muleteering) as early as 1876 (Cámara Barbachano 1966:72); is mentioned for it in the 1940s by Aguirre Beltrán (1953:103-104); and Cancian (1972:17) notes that prior to the construction of the modern road system the Zinacantecos did contract hauling of coffee "from the area around San Cristobal" - presumably from the coffee-growing areas near San Bartolomé and Pinola. Chamulas may have been active in a wider sphere as they are known to have taken pack-trains of their own merchandise (and perhaps contract hauling as well) as far as Tuxtla Gutiérrez in one direction (Pozas 1959:108) and are reported from Cancuc in the other direction (Blom & LaFarge 1927:390) and may have proceeded as far as Ocosingo.

[13] Blom & LaFarge (1927:353) note for the 1920s:

> Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during the recent political disturbances [Mexican Revolution].

[14] My translation; the original reads as follows:

> Los indios servían para bestias de carga y eran los que conducían el cacao, el añil, la cera y otros productos comerciales a Veracruz, Isla del Carmen, Tabasco y Guatemala, para lo cual salían en caravanes de tres o cuatrocientos, cuidados por 10 o 12 españoles, recorrían los fragosos caminos, verdaderos atajos, en los que no pocos hallaban la muerte y los mas eran víctimas de las enfermedades tropicales.

Compare this to the account given by de la Peña (1951:390), who notes additional products and that the cargadores were loaded with imports for the return journey.

[15] My translation; the original reads:

> Los indios tamemes, a fines del siglo seguían siendo el principal medio de transporte para bajar los productos regionales a Tabasco, a razon de 46 kgs. de carga por indio y un real por legua...

[16] The only reports after the 1930s of which I am aware concern Indians of Tenejapa who seem to have continued hiring out as cargadores into the 1940s: Guiteras Holmes (1946a:187), and de la Peña (1951:397) who notes:

> Los comerciales ladinos ocupan aquí [Tenejapa] ...indios tamemes en sus recorridos por las rancherías y municipios comarcanos, para cargar los productos que compran, destinados a S. Cristóbal; son mas de 60 comerciantes en la región de Tenejapa y ocupa cada uno de uno a cinco tamemes...Aducen los comerciantes que no les conviene comprar a alquilar mulas porque son pequeñas sus operaciones...

Plattner (1972, 1975a, 1975b), who in the 1960s and 1970s has studied Ladino itinerant traders in some detail, makes no mention of Indians acting as cargadores for these merchants, all of whom seem to use mules at the present time.

[17] My translation; the original reads:

> Las fincas de alemanes, estadounidenses y franceses, productoras de café, utilizaban tamemes para bajar la cosecha a los embarcaderos de Tapijulapa y El Salto, hasta el año de 1933, en que empezó el reparto de tierras y tuvieron que comprar mulada y acondicionar caminos...

See also Hill (1964:8), who states: "Commercial trains of human cargo carriers (flete de Indio) have not long been absent from the scene in Chiapas, since until recently the use of Indians proved little more expensive than animals."

[18] In contrast, I consider that a "major degree of community specialization" means that (a) the specialization substitutes for (replaces) the basic subsistence activity, or at least has near equal importance with the basic subsistence activity, hence (b) the specialization may be a full-time activity, or at least occupies a major portion of subsistence/income-oriented time; (c) the specialization may involve a local or regional monopoly of a product or activity by the community; and (d) the specialization probably will involve dependency relationships with other communities.

[19] In Collier's own words (1975:181):

> The expectations general in the region - that Indian townships are distinct from one another and unique in some regards - foster the favoring of some townships' crafts as specialties. Ethnicity engenders specialization to a degree beyond that accounted for by physiography alone; and ethnic reputation protects a township's domination over particular craft markets.

[20] Descriptions of this route may be found in Starr (1908:360-364), Amram (1937:22-23) and Cancian (1972:112).

[21] Descriptions and important maps may be found in Hill (1964: 9-11), Starr (1908:45-51), and Wagner (1960:36, 40).

[22] A description of this route may be found in Starr (1908:371-380) and brief mention in de la Peña (1951:395, 396).

[23] See mention of this route by de la Peña (1951:397) and the map by Amram (1937:20).

[24] See mention of this route by Blom & LaFarge (1927:243, 247) and de la Peña (1951:397), and the map by Amram (1937:20).

[25] Most information on this route comes from de la Peña (1951:394, 395, 1035).

CHAPTER 5

DOCUMENTATION OF INDIAN TRADE IN CHIAPAS: TRADE INSTITUTIONS AND TRADERS

Before proceeding with the descriptions of trade institutions and traders, I wish to make reference back to my model of exchange (Figure 1) in order to refresh the reader's mind regarding the two spheres of exchange. The Internal Exchange Sphere encompasses all exchanges between members of the same Indian society (as embodied in the Indian community, for example: within Chamula), whereas the External Exchange Sphere encompasses all exchanges between members of different Indian societies (for example: between Chamulas and Zinacantecos) or between members of any one Indian society and members of the Ladino national society. As a result, the same exchange institution is likely to encompass both internal and external exchanges (for example: at the weekly market at Chamula which will contain Chamulas selling to Chamulas, and Chamulas selling to Zinacantecos). In like manner an individual seller will be acting as an internal vendor at one moment, when dealing with a customer from his own community, and as a trader the next, when dealing with a customer from another community. Thus, most of the exchange institutions to be described below, and the persons operating within them, have double roles: an internal or external exchange relationship being expressed according to the social identities of customer and seller. Further consideration will be accorded to these double roles in the next chapter (Chapter 6) during discussion and analysis of the Indian trade system as a whole.

THE MINOR TRADE INSTITUTIONS

Tiendas

The tienda is a small general store in daily operation. Most tiendas in Highland Chiapas are operated by Ladinos, although a few Indian tiendas are beginning to appear through the encouragement of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista.[1] Tiendas generally sell small amounts of manufactures from the Ladino world, such as machine-made clothing, metal tools, medicines, soap, sugar, candles, ribbons, candy, etc. In addition, tiendas sell Indian produce which is purchased wholesale at the cabecera weekly market and then retailed throughout the remainder of the week (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60-61). Tiendas are present in any Indian community with a substantial Ladino population, and, together with Ladino administrators and teachers, the tendero (storekeeper) will be among the first Ladinos to establish residence in an Indian community.[2] Indian and Ladino customers are treated differently by a tendero in a manner which emphasizes the lower status of the Indians (Colby 1966:29); hence the tienda remains a foreign trade institution in the Indian community.

Atajadores

Atajadores (interceptors) are Ladinos who "intercept" Indian producers on their way to market in order to buy the Indians' produce in wholesale lots at prices lower than those to be had by buying retail in the marketplace. Such interception occurs at the edge of the city or town in which the market is held. The "sale" of the Indians' produce occurs under some duress--the Ladino atajador displaying an aggressiveness and overbearing "upper class" manner which effectively "forces" the Indian to sell (Holland 1963:44; Aguirre Beltrán 1953:104); for this reason I term this type of transaction a "forced sale" (see Figure 1).

Guiteras Holmes (1961:59) reports that traders from Chalchihuitán often sell all of their produce to local Indians in the parajes of Chenalhó before reaching the Chenalhó cabecera market; however, these inter-Indian transactions seem to lack the forced character of the Ladino-Indian exchanges noted above.

Door-to-Door Selling

Selling door-to-door by Indian women is noted in the heavily Ladinoized towns of San Bartolomé and Pinola (Salovesh 1965:322; Hermitte 1970:12, 17). In the case of San Bartolomé this form of trading seems to be a factor preventing the appearance of a strong daily market.

MARKETS

The term "market" as used herein means both the physical marketplace and the whole gamut of activity occurring within the marketplace on a marketing day. I do not use the term "market" in its more abstract sense, i.e., I am never referring to the total "demand" for certain goods when I use the term "market." The visitation spheres described below for the various markets are based on data presented in Appendix 2.

Bargaining

> All of the Indians use "bargaining," that is to say, they use the phrases which are said to the vendor in order to obtain a lower price on the product which they wish to acquire (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:85).[3]

Bargaining, like that noted above for the Tenejapa weekly market, appears to be a general inter-Indian market behavior in the Chiapas Highlands, so much so that it seems to be taken for granted by ethnographers who mention it casually or not at all when describing Indian markets. As far as I can discover, the process of bargaining between Indians is a fairly brief affair, intended to establish the current price of the product in question. Bargaining between Indians and Ladinos, however, has excited more comment from ethnographers as sharp or intense bargaining behavior is used by Ladinos to assert status superiority over Indian vendors and customers (Vogt 1969a:119).

Daily Markets

Daily Markets are in limited number in the Chiapas Highlands and are located either in Ladino cities or in heavily Ladinoized towns (see Figure 15).

San Cristóbal Daily Market: This is the best described of the daily markets and the most important with respect to the Indian

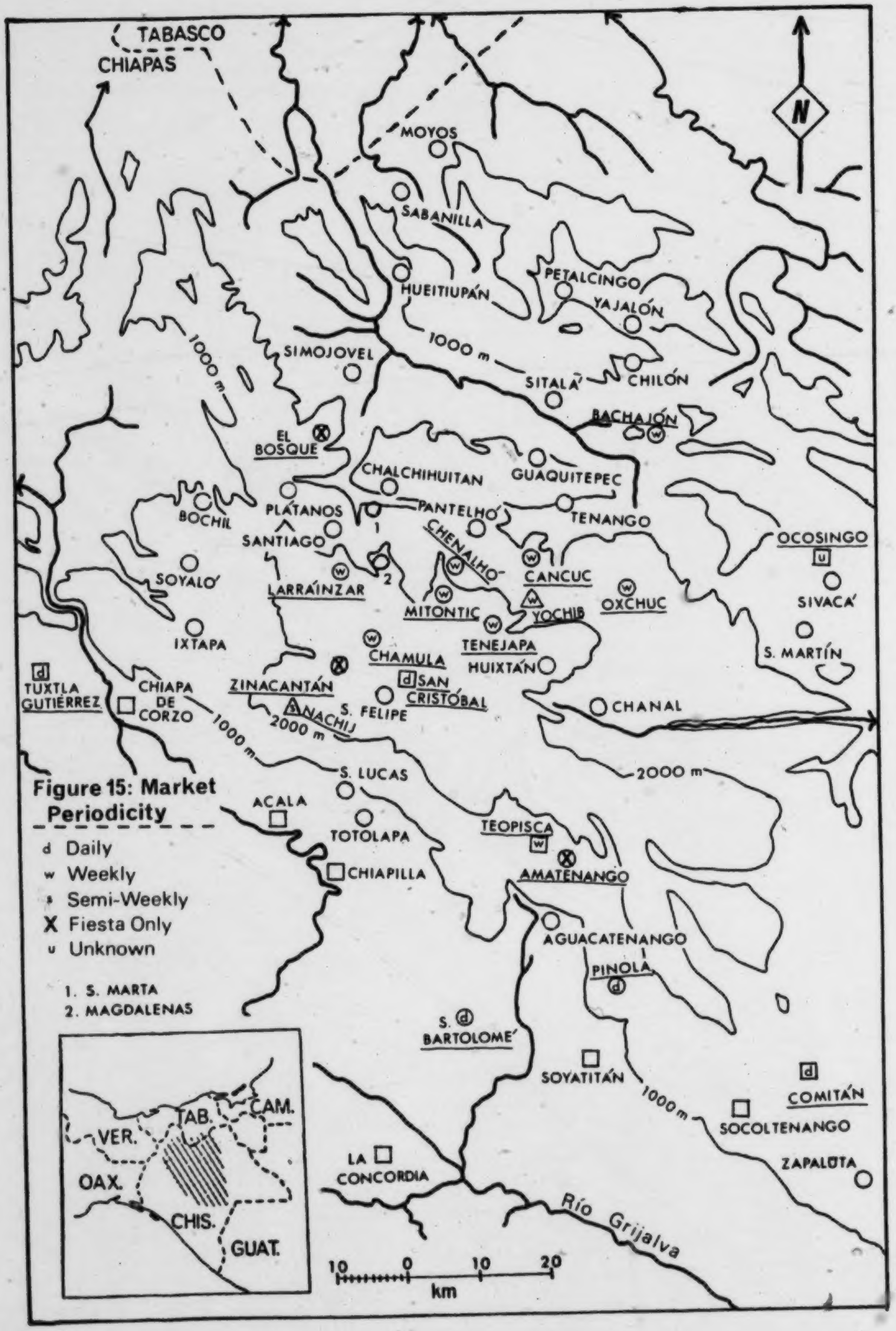


Figure 15: Market Periodicity

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
2
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
MITONTIC
YOCHIB
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
CHANAL
NACHIJ
S. FELIPE
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
AMATENANGO
CHIAPILLA
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
d Daily
w Weekly
s Semi-Weekly
X Fiesta Only
u Unknown
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

communities of the Highlands.[4] The Ladino city of San Cristóbal has two markets, named La Merced and San Francisco, with Indians selling and buying only in La Merced. Only the Zinacantecos (salt, maize, fruit and vegetables) and the Chamulas (various merchandise) retail their products in La Merced, while other Indians have already sold their products to atajadores or other Ladino retailers, or sell their products from door-to-door throughout the city. In the market and along two streets leading to it from the east and west ends of the city are permanent tiendas and stalls run by Ladinos which sell both Indian and Ladino products to Indians visiting the city. The sphere of Indian visitation to the daily market in San Cristóbal is shown in Figure 16.

The daily market of San Cristóbal is, and apparently always has been since the Spanish Conquest, the central and most important market in the Chiapas Highlands. It acts as a major locus of trade in Indian products and is the major source of Ladino products purchased by Indians. Some Ladino products such as candles, rockets, glazed pottery and metal tools are produced in barrios of San Cristóbal, while others such as copal and machine-made clothing are imported from the lowlands, central México, or foreign countries. San Cristóbal is also the home base of various kinds of Ladino traders and peddlers circulating through the Highlands, who will be described in more detail later in this chapter.

Tuxtla Gutiérrez Daily Market: I have little information on this

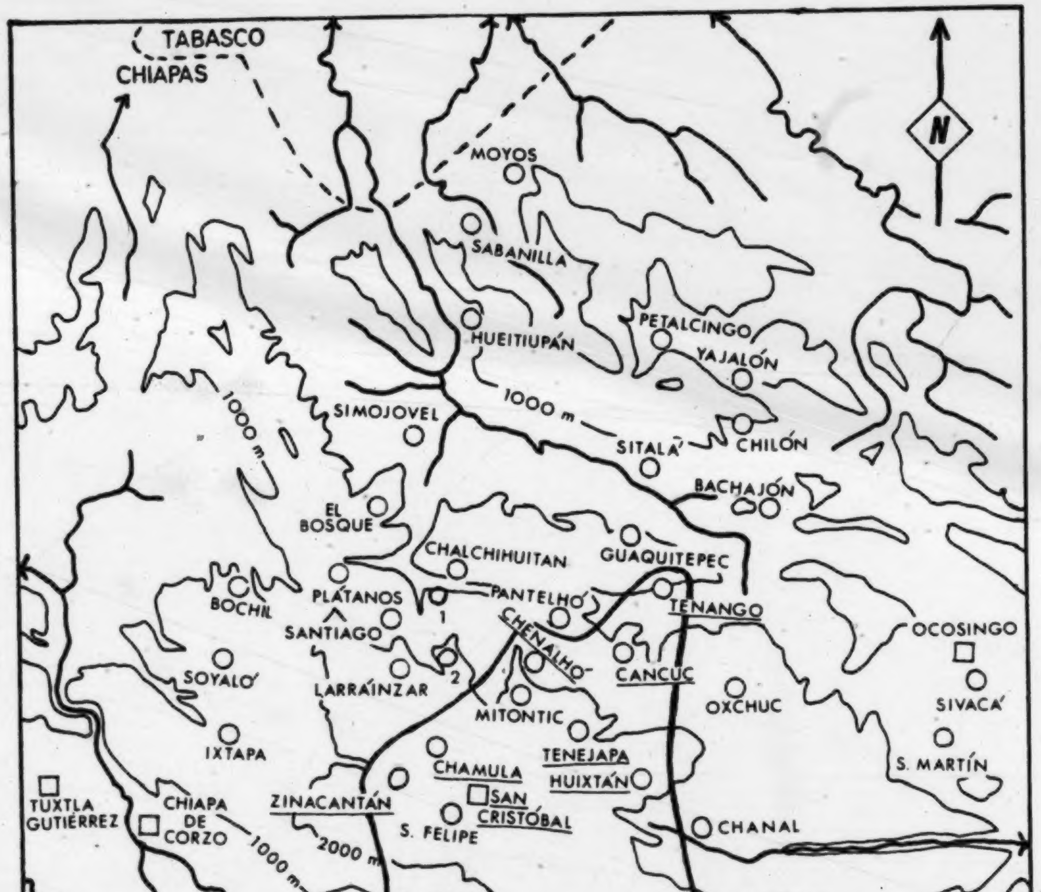

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
PLÁTANOS
1
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
2
CANCUC
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
CHAMULA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
10 0 10 20
km

Figure 16: San Cristóbal Visitation Sphere

market, other than it is frequented only occasionally by Indians from the Highlands. Starr (1908:44-45) mentions Chamulas at the market in 1896. Zinacanteco and Chamula traders seem to be the most frequent Highland Indian visitors to Tuxtla Gutiérrez, but the Cordrys (1941:47) also mention Andrescos and Huixtecos. Corzo (1943:94) notes two trade fairs in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, one in May and another in December, which may attract Highland Indians to trade.

Pinola Daily Market: Pinola is an Indian town which is now heavily Ladinoized, with most of the change apparently occurring since about A. D. 1900 (see discussion in Hill 1964:23-30). I suspect that at the turn of the century Pinola had a weekly market like other Indian towns, and that the change to a daily market has been part of the process of Ladinoization. The importance of the Pinola daily market was augmented in 1955 with the construction of a truck route linking Pinola with the Pan-American Highway near Amatenango, leading to the appearance in the market of Chamula traders and other commercial groups from as far away as the Isthmus of Tehuántepec (Hill 1964:96). Previously the sphere of visitation to Pinola's market appears to have extended as far as Teopisca, San Bartolomé, perhaps to La Concordia across the Río Grijalva, and perhaps to the now-Ladinoized town of Socoltenango.

San Bartolomé Daily Market: A weak daily market is present in the central plaza of San Bartolomé and there is no day of major market activity (Díaz de Salas 1963:255). San Bartolomé is another

Indian town which has suffered Ladinoization since the turn of the century, and it seems likely that an original weekly market has been supplanted by three factors: the growth of tiendas (suggested by Díaz de Salas), the practice of door-to-door selling by Indian women (Salovesh 1965:322), and the growth of a strong daily market in nearby Pinola.

Other Daily Markets: There is a daily market in Comitán (Montagu 1969:228), and some other Ladino towns may have daily markets but specific information is lacking. However, Teopisca--at least--has only a weekly market held on Sundays like those of the Indian communities (J. Nash 1969:1/a). More mention of Comitán will be made in the chapter on trade in the border zone between Chiapas and Guatemala, but it should be noted that the only Highland Indians recorded as visiting the Comitán market are those from Amatenango (J. Nash 1970:91).

Weekly Markets

Most markets in the Chiapas Highlands occur once a week on Sundays (Figure 15). The usual location of these weekly markets is in the ceremonial centre of the Indian societies, which is also the cabecera of the municipio for those societies which have been granted this nominal administrative independence. There is however one known case of the weekly market being held in a paraje, and another where several paraje markets occur simultaneously with the market in the ceremonial centre. Furthermore, some Indian societies do not have a weekly market due to the proximity of a daily or weekly market in a Ladino town: Zinacantán and Amatenango being examples.

Weekly markets held in ceremonial centres are located in a plaza or other open space immediately adjacent to the community church building and the building(s) housing the *ayuntamiento*. Frequently (perhaps always) present are at least a few *garitas*, permanent stalls used by Ladino vendors. In at least some cases the vendors of different products have different assigned areas within the plaza where they may set out their merchandise (see the discussion of the Chamula market below).

Generally there is a market tax (*impuesto*) levied on vendors, but of variable amount depending on the product sold and the quantity possessed by the vendor. This tax may either be used to support the cargo system, pay salaries of the *ayuntamiento constitucional*, or become part of the salary of the *secretario municipal*. If a vendor refuses to pay the tax the usual method of forcing him to do so is to confiscate his hat or cloak (*chamarra*) (for examples see Cámara Barbachano 1945a:100 and Guiteras Holmes 1946b:47).

Some vendors, particularly *sabaderas* (see the description of Ladino traders below), arrive at the marketplace on Saturday evening: sleeping overnight in the garitas, in doorways or wherever space may be found in order to begin selling early on Sunday morning. Buying and selling usually reach their peak around 11:00 A. M. Sunday morning or shortly thereafter, with the mid and late afternoon and evening given over increasingly to drinking and other social (and anti-social) interaction between Indians.

Products sold in the weekly market always include foodstuffs, particularly those of secondary importance such as vegetables, fruits and collected wild plant products; various craft products such as pottery, metates, cordage, etc.; some mineral products such as salt and cal; various refreshments and cooked foods such as soft drinks, tortillas and carne asada; the alcoholic beverages chicha and aguardiente; and the multiplicity of sundries brought by the sabaderas.

Chamula Weekly Market: The weekly market of Chamula is that for which we have the most detailed description, given by Pozas (1959: 105-108). The market is held in the ceremonial centre every Sunday, except for the seven weeks preceding Holy Week when it is held on Fridays. Figure 17 is a rough sketch of the positions of vendors in this market. A market tax is collected, but no information is available on how this income is used (Pozas 1959:146). The visitation sphere of this weekly market (Figure 18) is very limited compared to those for other markets, but this may be because Chamula traders are so active that other Indians need not leave their own communities in order to obtain Chamula products or sell their own products to Chamulas.

Larráinzar (San Andrés) Weekly Market: Holland (1963:39-43) is the major source for Larráinzar, where the Sunday market is held in the plaza of the ceremonial centre. It is customary here for vendors to arrive on Saturday evening and spend the night sleeping in the plaza.

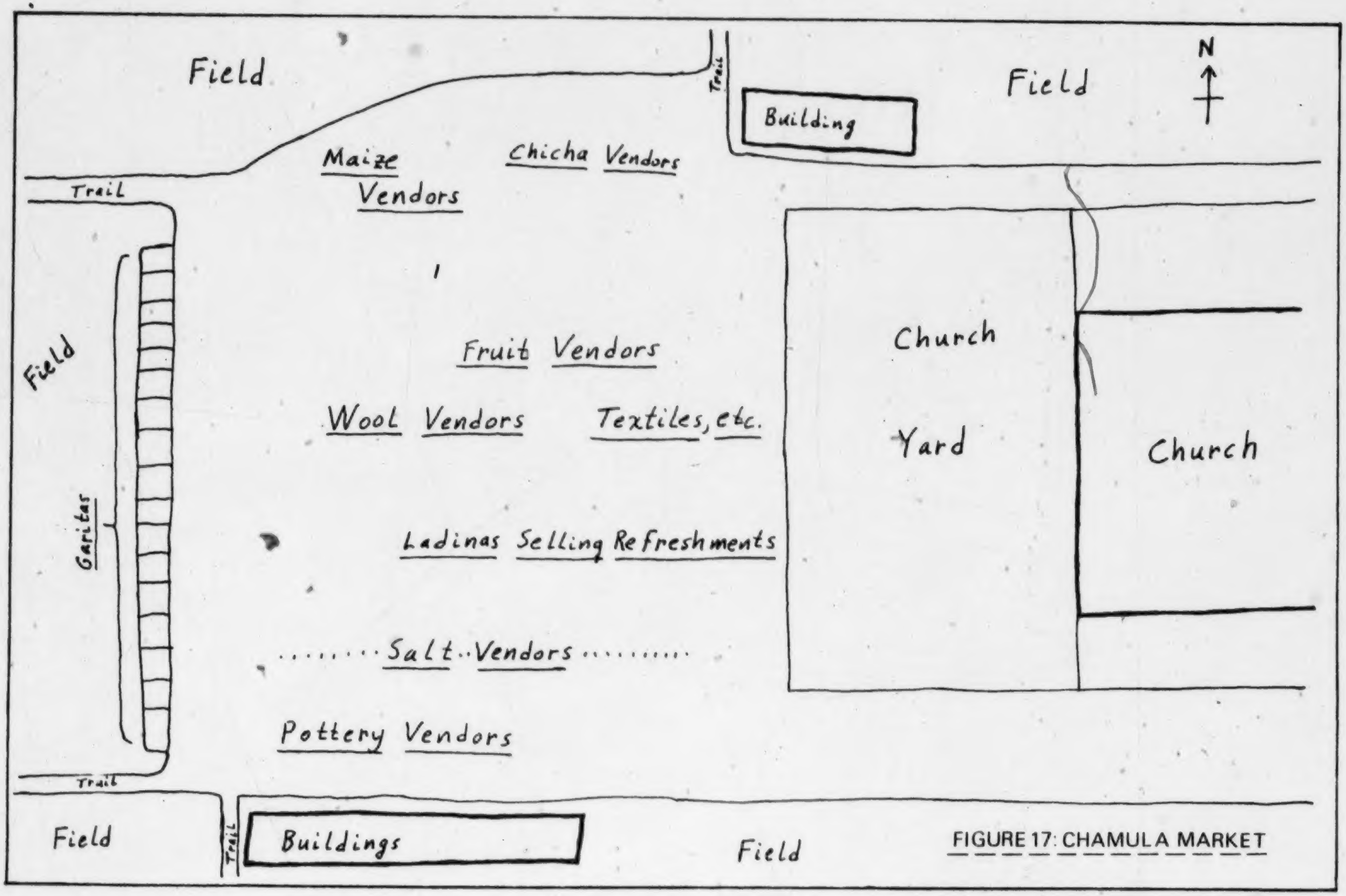

Field
Field
N
Building
Trail
Maize Vendors
Chicha Vendors
Trail
Field
Garitas
Fruit Vendors
Wool Vendors
Textiles, etc.
Ladinas Selling Refreshments
Salt Vendors
Pottery Vendors
Church Yard
Church
Trail
Field
Trail
Buildings
Field

FIGURE 17: CHAMULA MARKET

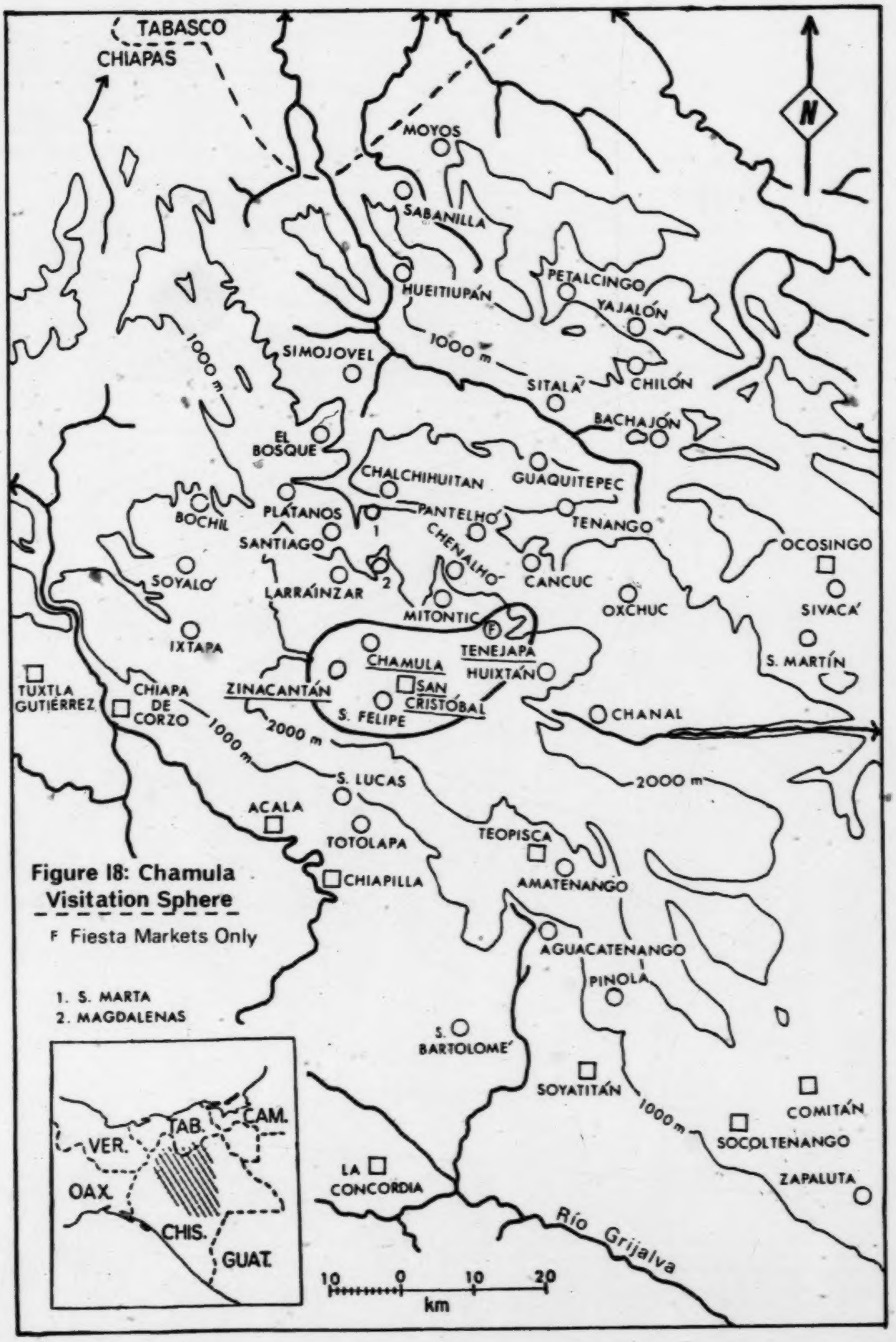


Figure 18: Chamula Visitation Sphere

F Fiesta Markets Only

1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
1000 m
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
PLÁTANOS
1
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
2
CANCUC
LARRÁINZAR
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
F
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
2000 m
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10
0
10
20
km

According to Holland the Andresco vendors sell mostly foodstuffs (Larráinzar is one of the communities with a maize surplus) while craft goods are brought in by foreign vendors--chiefly Chamulas. Larráinzar is one of those communities where some elements of the Ladino population act as atajadores (Holland 1963:44). The visitation sphere for Larráinzar is depicted in Figure 19.

Chenalhó Weekly Markets: Sources for these markets are Guiteras Holmes (1946b:10, 44-45, 47) and (1961:59-63). Chenalhó has six weekly markets all held on Sunday: one at the ceremonial centre and five in parajes which border on the neighbouring communities. Only the paraje market of Los Ángeles (Chishtetic) is identified by name. In the ceremonial centre vendors are assigned fixed locations within the marketplace, and some vendors (sabaderas and Zinacanteco salt traders) arrive on Saturday evening. There is a market tax which goes to the Ladino secretario municipal (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:47, 60). The visitation sphere for Chenalhó is given in Figure 20.

Mitontic Weekly Market: The weekly market in Mitontic, described by Cámara Barbachano (1945b:14-15), is not held in the ceremonial centre but is located in the paraje of Chalam. It meets on Sundays on a barren patch of ground bordered on south, east and north sides by rows of garitas. On the one occasion the market was observed Zinacanteco salt traders arrived on Saturday evening and spent the night sheltering in the garitas. There is a market tax. On the one

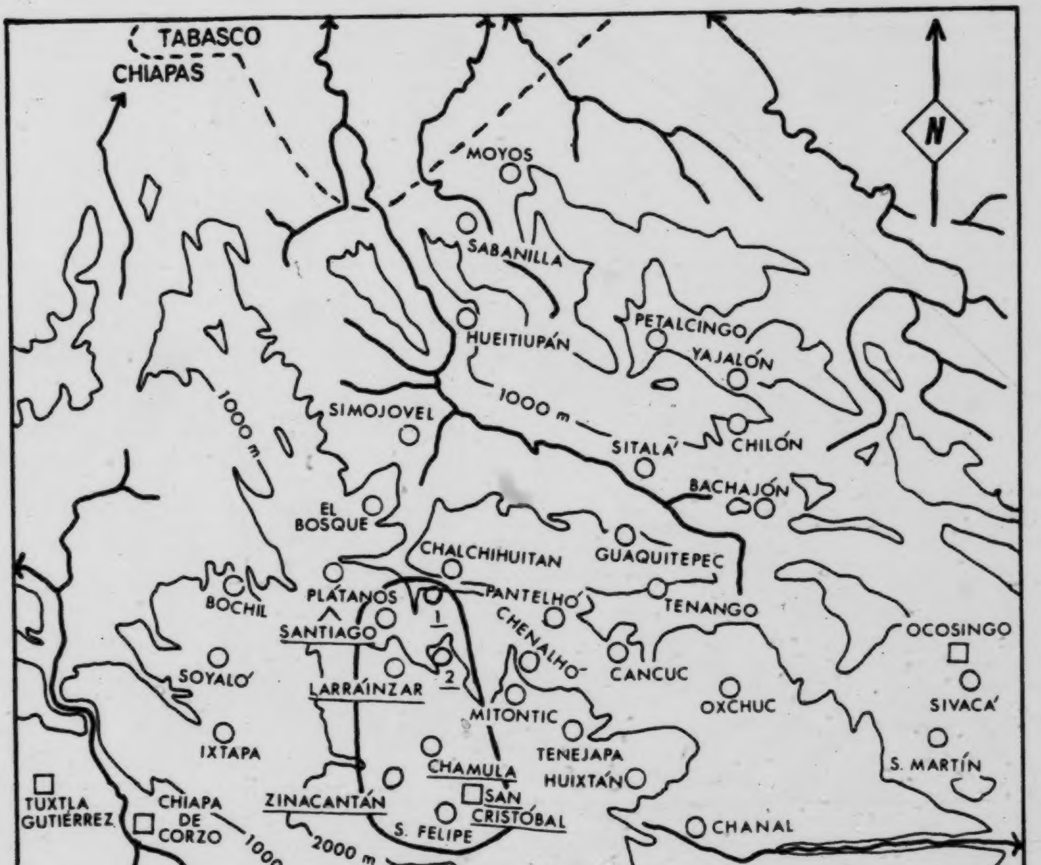


Figure 19: Larráinzar Visitation Sphere

(weekly market only)

1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

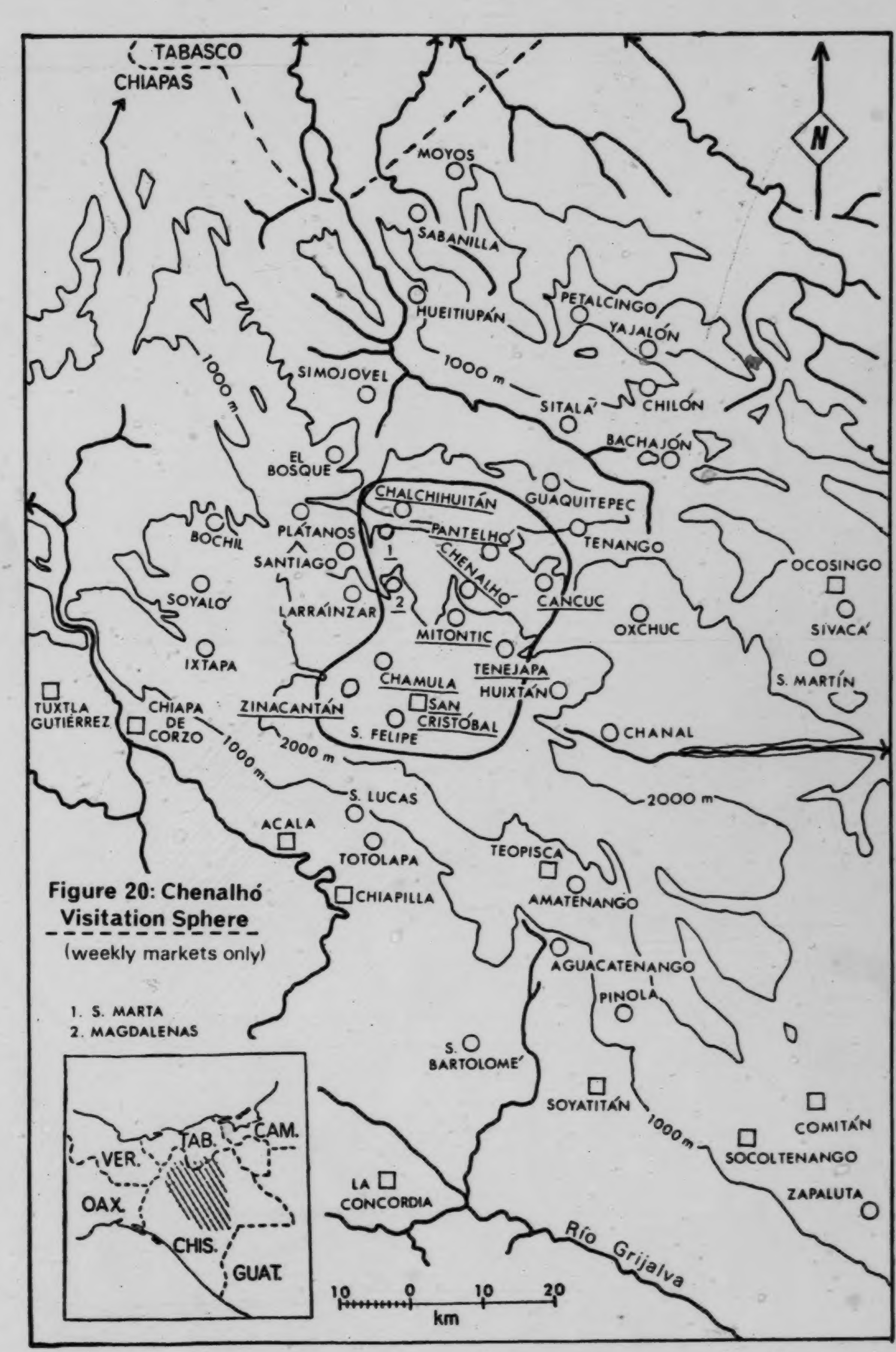


Figure 20: Chenalhó Visitation Sphere

(weekly markets only)

1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITÁN
GUAQUITEPEC
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRAÍNZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
VER.
TAB.
CAM.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

observed occasion the market was dominated numerically by traders from other communities, suggesting that it served more as a meeting place for foreign Indians than as a market for the local Migueleros (see Figure 21).

Tenejapa Weekly Market: The main source on this market is Cámara Barbachano (1945a:82-85, 89; and 1966:90). It is held on Sundays in the plaza of the ceremonial centre. There are garitas present, and a market tax is levied which is used for the salaries of the highest members of the ayuntamientos regional and constitucional (Cámara Barbachano 1966:136, 141). Apparently the ayuntamiento constitucional attempted during the 1940s to take advantage of Tenejapa's position on a main road by imposing taxes on cargos entering and exiting the town, but travelling merchants and traders simply took by-paths through the hills so as to avoid the town and the taxes; also, both Ladino and Indian traders would buy from market-goers outside of the town and then sell elsewhere, thus avoiding even the market tax (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:97).

Starr (1908:392), when passing through Tenejapa in 1901, noted the market and states that some market-goers had arrived on Saturday evening and slept overnight in the plaza. The visitation sphere for Tenejapa is given in Figure 22.

Cancuc Weekly Market: Guiteras Holmes (1946a:36, 40-41) records that the weekly Sunday market is located on the south side of the church and that garitas used by Ladino vendors are present. The

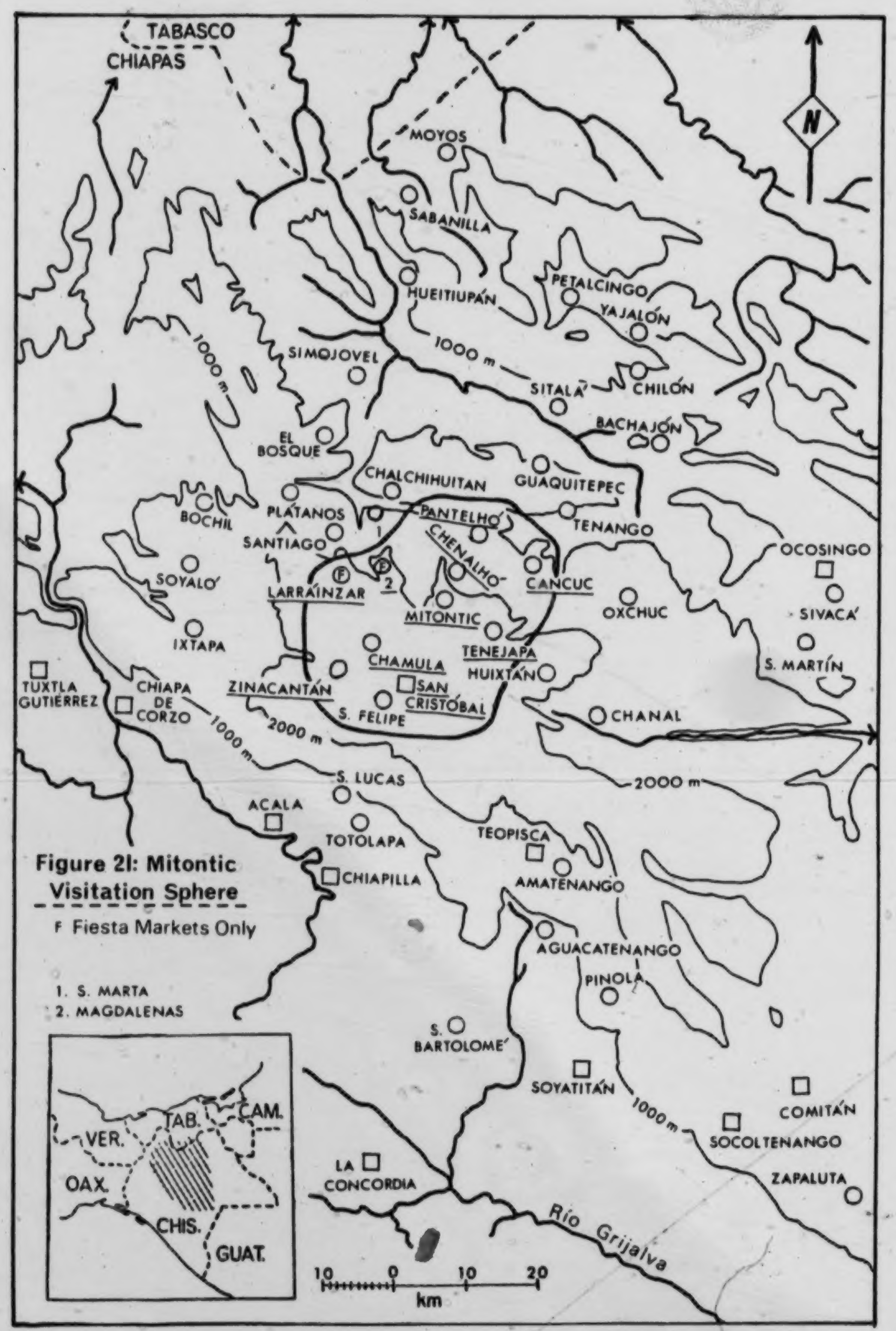


Figure 2I: Mitontic Visitation Sphere

F Fiesta Markets Only

1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
SANTIAGO
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
CANCUC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
HUIXTÁN
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

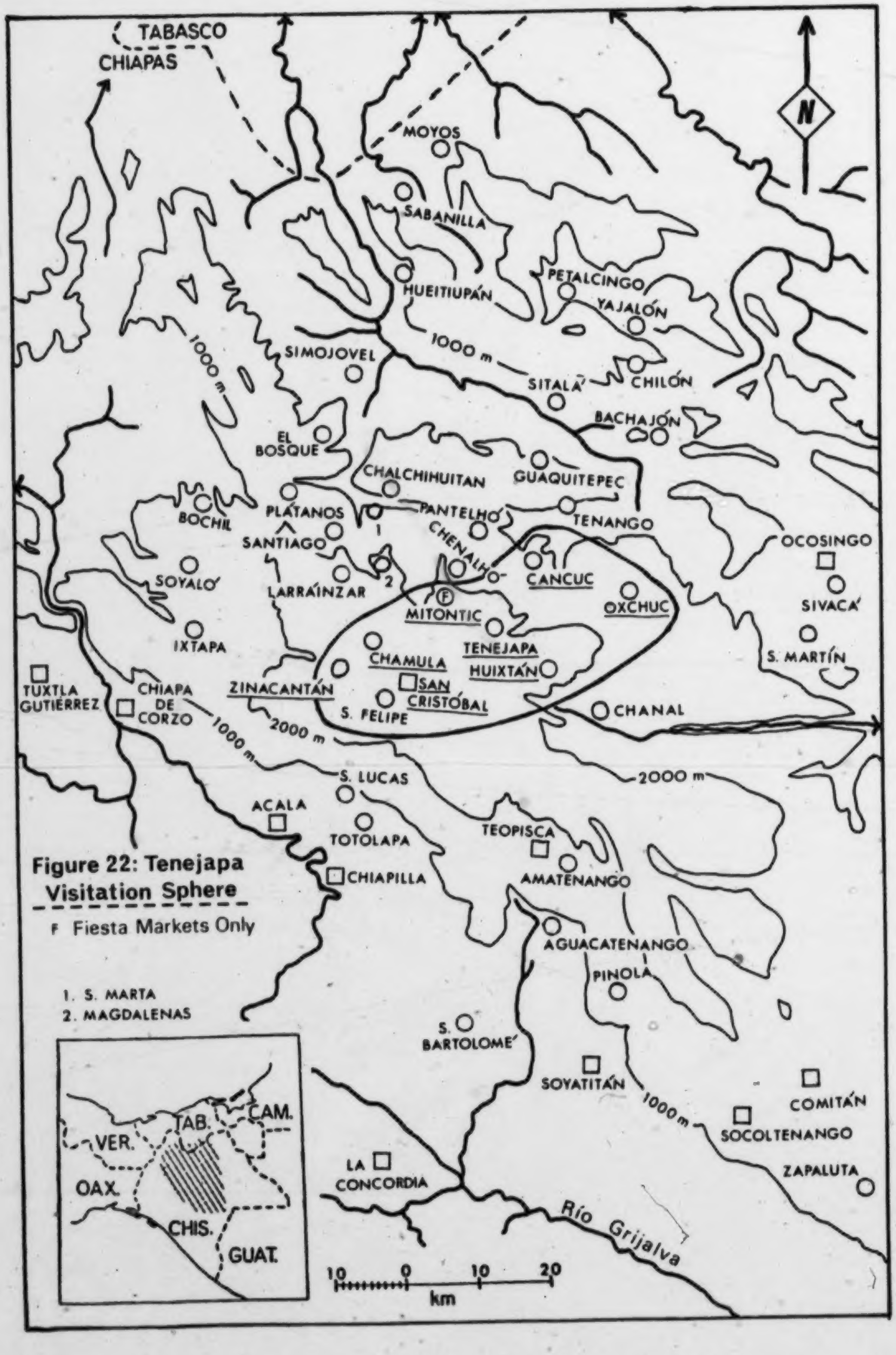


Figure 22: Tenejapa Visitation Sphere

F Fiesta Markets Only

1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10
0
10
20
km

visitation sphere for the Cancuc market is given in Figure 23.

Oxchuc Weekly Market: There is little data on this market other than it is held on Sundays in the ceremonial centre (Cámara Barbachano 1966:90). Apparently this market is on the decline due to attendance being discouraged by the Prostestant evangelista missionaries in order to remove their converts from the temptations of alcoholic drink (Slocum 1956).

Bachajón Weekly Market: Only the weakest of weekly markets exists in the ceremonial centre:

> ...on the sides of the principal street...are grouped all the tiendas, owned for the most part by Ladinos, which monopolize the commerce between the community and the outside. Aside from the appearance each Sunday of some local mestizos who sell modern clothes and plastic toys, it is not proper to speak of a market in the town... craftwork is very impoverished and the rare productions are sold in the permanent tiendas; there does not exist the economic specialization necessary to create the system of exchanges characteristic of the Indian market as described by (Tax 1952).[5]

No weekly market was noted in 1925 by Blom & LaFarge (1927:355), but also no tiendas any nearer to Bachajón than Ocosingo.

Nachij Semi-Weekly Market: Nachij is a paraje of Zinacantán situated on the Pan-American Highway. A semi-weekly market meeting on Tuesdays and Thursdays has developed in Nachij during the last two decades. This market is frequented by Zinacantecos from Nachij and neighbouring parajes and by Chiapanecs and Ladinos from Chiapa de

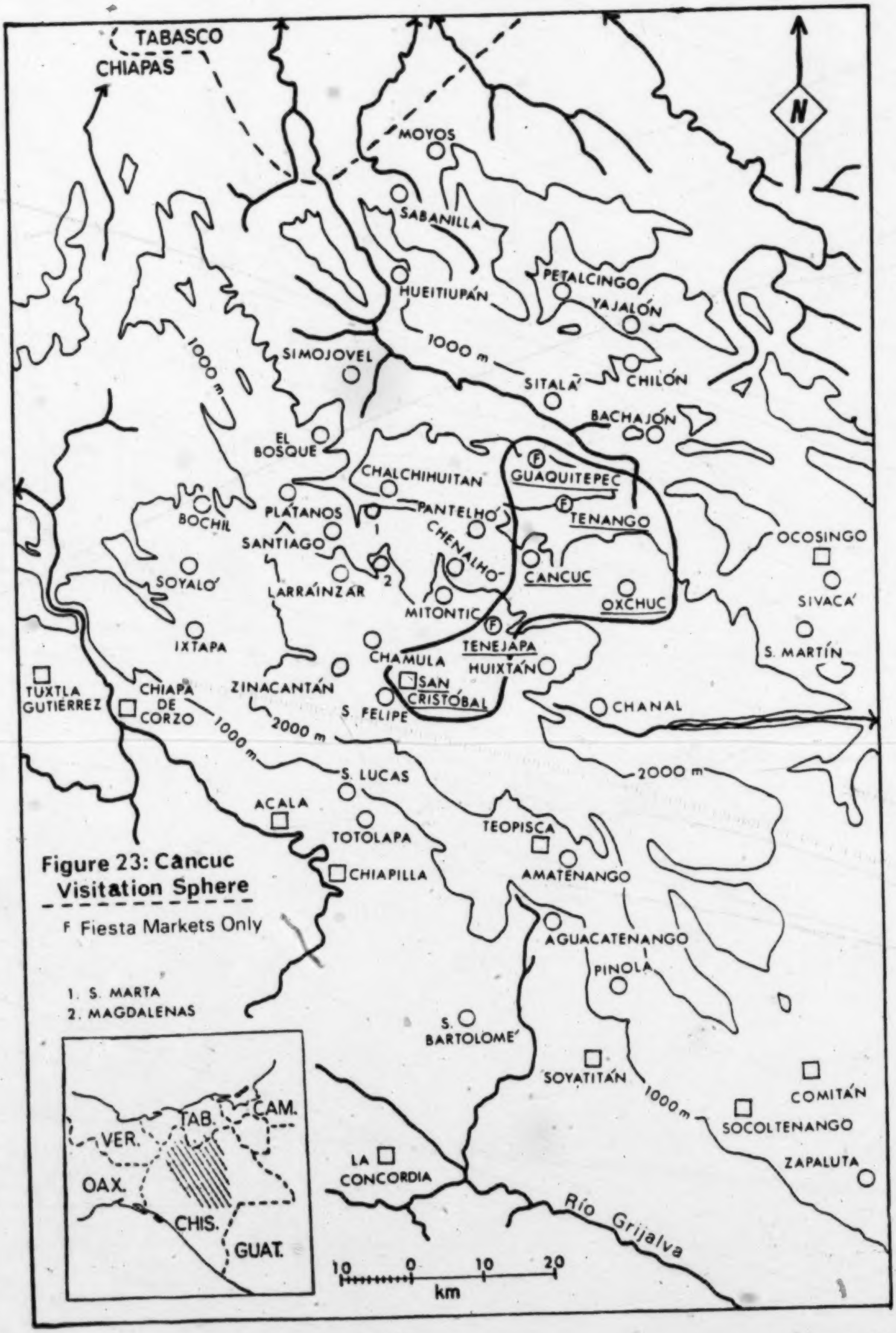


Figure 23: Cancuc Visitation Sphere

F Fiesta Markets Only
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
TENANGO
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
CHENALHÓ
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRAÍNZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
CHANAL
S. FELIPE
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

Corzo and other lowland centres; the trade seems to be primarily a lowland fruit/highland maize exchange (Vogt 1969a:109-110).

Changes in Market Periodicity: Above I have suggested that former weekly markets in Pinola and San Bartolomé may have been changed into daily markets as part of the process of Ladinoization. Unfortunately, the data are so sparse as to prevent this from being any more than a suggestion. Basauri (1940a:173) states that the market at Larráinzar meets twice a week: on Sundays and Thursdays. Since Holland (1963) does not mention a second market day for Larráinzar nor does any other source, and since Basauri is known to be unreliable on details I cannot give his report much credence at this time. More recently Harman (1974:92) has reported two market days--Thursday and Saturday--for Tenejapa. Earlier reports on Tenejapa (cited above) noted only a Sunday market, but Cámara Barbachano did his fieldwork in the 1940s, so it is possible that by 1967-1968 (when Harman was in the field) a change in market periodicity may have occurred at Tenejapa. However, since Harman's study was not economically oriented and since Tenejapa was not the community in which he worked, I should prefer confirmation from a second source before assuming that such a change in periodicity has taken place.

Fiesta Markets

All communities in the Chiapas Highlands, Indian or Ladino, conduct a number of fiestas (festivals) during the course of a year. In the case of Indian communities these fiestas are an integral part of their syncretic Maya-Catholic religion: celebrations of saint's days, of Easter (pascua), of the yearly change of officers in the cargo system, etc. Only a few of these fiestas (todos santos, carnaval, pascua, change of officers) are synchronic or nearly so at all communities; most fiestas are the patron saint's day and other saints' days and hence are held at a limited number of communities at any one time, which thus allows individuals from neighbouring (and non-celebrating) communities to attend.

A concomitant of the fiesta is the fiesta market which may last for two or three consecutive days, running concurrently with the peak of the fiesta celebration. Most fiestas are celebrated primarily in the ceremonial centre of a community, hence the fiesta market is also located there. Since a portion of the dancing and ritual of any fiesta occurs in the plaza before the church, this certainly must have an effect on the physical location of vendors, but no specific data on this point are available. The conduct of a fiesta market is similar to that of the weekly market, with the first two days the most active in exchange activity, while the last day is much reduced--usually limited to sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages (the typical fiesta market lasts three days). By nature a fiesta is a time of inter-community visiting, hence fiesta markets are typically crowded with Ladinos and Indians from outside the celebrating community. Data are incomplete, but I believe that a perusal of Figures 18 through 23 (above) will support a statement that the sphere of visitation for a fiesta market is larger than that for the weekly market in the same community. Note that fiesta markets occur in communities which do not hold a weekly market, such as Zinacantán (Vogt 1969a:109) and Amatenango (M. Nash 1961:187).

There are fewer accounts of fiesta markets[6] than of weekly markets but as they are effectively summarized above I will not describe them by community. Fernando Cámara Barbachano (1966: 108) has suggested that, at least for Tenejapa and Oxchuc, there seems to be a seasonality to fiestas: that the dry-season months (December to May) when _milpa_ is not being worked are the months when major fiestas occur, with relatively little fiesta activity during the agricultural months (May to November). This may be true for Tenejapa and Oxchuc, and certainly the near-universal fiestas of change of officers, carnaval and pascua all occur during the dry-season, but unlike Tenejapa and Oxchuc many other communities celebrate major saint's day fiestas during the agricultural season.

Pokolum Market in Tenejapa: Medina Hermández (1965:334, 337) describes a market held during the fiesta of carnaval at a site called Pokolum ("old pueblo"), where on the seventh day of carnaval ceremonial groups from three neighbouring parajes met to engage in joint ritual. The market site is in the interior of the municipio and a good distance removed from the ceremonial centre. The market is described as attended _only_ by Indians, with no foreign Indians being noted, and fruit, foods and _chicha_ being the main items sold. This market is interesting in a number of ways: (a) Pokolum is referred to as the original site of (the town of) Tenejapa, hence the occurrence of a market may represent the survival of an old ceremonial centre market; (b) Pokolum is the former site of the illegal market held at Yochib during the 1940s (see section on illegal markets, below); (c) it seems possible that a regular weekly market may be held at Pokolum: the market described by Medina Hernández took place on a Sunday hence it is possible that the carnaval rituals may have happened to coincide with a paraje market rather than the market being a concomitant of the rituals; and (d) the stated lack of Ladinos and the implied lack of foreign Indians presents a case of a purely internal market.

Illegal Markets

Of great significance is the presence--perhaps discontinuously in time--of "illegal" Indian markets in the Chiapas Highlands. These are "illegal" in the sense that they have occurred outside Ladino economic and political control, being without market tax, without policing and held in locations distant from the ceremonial centres where Ladino officials are established. They are also "illegal" in that Ladino officials attempt to suppress them and force the Indians to attend the regular "controlled" weekly markets; the motives for this suppression will be discussed later.

It is difficult to estimate how common these "illegal" markets have been (or are) as there is little data on the subject, with two notable exceptions. The lack of data may partly be explainable as due to a desire for secrecy on the part of the Indians. The most recent and best known example is the "illegal" market operated at Yochib, a paraje of Oxchuc which borders on the neighbouring communities of Cancuc and Tenejapa.[7]

Yochib Market: Along the northwestern border of the municipio of Oxchuc where it adjoins the municipio of Tenejapa is a valley or basin known as La Cañada. The Río Yaxanal flows north through this valley, forming the boundary between Oxchuc and Tenejapa, until it reaches a cave named Cueva de Yochib where the river vanishes underground. (The Cueva de Yochib is apparently a sumidero, or "sinkhole" characteristic of the Karst topography of the region.) On the valley floor immediately above the cave is a barren patch of ground known as the plaza ("market") of Yochib, where the market is held, and which marks the beginning point of the territory of Cancuc, the third community.[8]

The market was, and is, attended mostly by Indians from the nearby parajes of the three communities, although a few Ladinos, Chamulas and Zinacantecos have also been noted. The market thus acts as a central point for market exchange between the three communities, a decided practical advantage as the three ceremonial centres with their weekly markets are not near to each other (see Figure 15). The periodicity of the market is significant: it operates on Saturday and Sunday, with the Saturday market day permitting an individual to buy and sell in Yochib, then attend one of the ceremonial centre markets the next day.

The history of the Yochib market, so far as it is known, is extremely interesting. Writing in September of 1942, Villa Rojas (1946:548) gives us this information:

> My assistant, who is a Ladino native to Tenejapa, tells me that until 4 years ago [ca. 1938] this market had its seat at a point called Pokolum situated 2 kilometers further west, in territory of Tenejapa. That site was abandoned by the Indians because the Authorities prohibited the custom of marketing there since the day on which occurred a fight in which a whiteman and two Indians died. Still at present the Indians who gather at Yochib do so secretly for fear of being surprised by the Authorities.[9]

Documentation on the market by anthropologists began with Villa Rojas in September 1942 and continued through 1943 into 1944, when the "illegal" market at Yochib was broken up on Saturday, 20 May by armed Ladinos from Tenejapa acting under order from the Governor of Chiapas to suppress the market, ostensibly to prevent fighting and bloodshed (i. e., lawlessness) by forcing the Indians to use the ceremonial centre markets where they could be controlled by the Ladino-controlled municipal police. Villa Rojas witnessed this event and gives a lively account of it (1946:556-557). However, on the next weekend the "illegal" market was reported meeting again at Pokolum, and in early June 1944 attempts were still being made by the Indians to maintain a market at Yochib and by the Ladino authorities to suppress it (Villa Rojas 1946:559, 560).

There is a nine year gap in documentation of the Yochib market, but to judge from later information the Indians must have persisted in their attempts to meet at Yochib. The next information comes from Harman (1974):

> Around 1953 there was established within the Municipio of Oxchuc the auxiliary centre [agencia municpal] of Yochib... (p. 75)
>
> The agency appeared as the project of an ambitious young man who had served for a year as secretario of the municipio, the first and only Indian to occupy this office, and who had been the schoolmaster in Yochib (p. 76).[10]

It is apparent that this agent and his police now provide the necessary "law and order" in the Yochib market as Harman--fieldwork in 1967-1968--reports the market as going strong (1974:92). It would appear that the "legalization" of the Yochib market through the means of an agencia municpal was, in effect, a compromise between Ladino insistence on "law and order" and Indian insistence on maintaining a market at that location. I do not know if a market tax is collected, but it seems likely.

The stated motive of Ladino authorities in suppressing the "illegal" market, first at Pokolum and later at Yochib, was that when the Indians were not policed fighting and killing were likely to occur. Although the available facts do give some support to this position, I suspect that "law and order" was not the sole motive behind Ladino actions. Given the information on multiple taxation of goods at Tenejapa quoted from Cámara Barbachano (above) with the concomitant efforts of both Ladinos and Indians to avoid those taxes, the lack of any taxes at the Yochib market, and the fact that Ladinos from Tenejapa were the ones involved in attempting to suppress the "illegal" market, I feel able to suggest an economic motive--the loss of tax revenue--behind Ladino attempts at suppression. Furthermore, there may have been a historico-political motive as well. The following discussion of the Tzajalemel market will provide the necessary historical background.

The Tzajalemel Market and the Tzotzil Revolt of 1869: The Tzotzil Revolt of 1869, also known as the Cuscat Rebellion or War of the Castes, was the last major Indian revolt against Spanish/Ladino rule in the Chiapas Highlands.[11] A number of minor "disturbances" have occurred since then, some of which will be mentioned below. The 1869 revolt was restricted to the Tzotzil-speaking communities north of San Cristóbal and was suppressed through force of arms by the Ladinos. An analysis of the revolt and comparison of it with the 1712 Revolt is to be found in Favre (1973:301-329).[12]

Of immediate importance to this discussion was the establishment of an "illegal" Indian market in the Chamula paraje of Tzajalemel which was closely linked to events leading to the revolt. Early in 1868 an Indian "talking" saint was established in a shrine in the paraje of Tzajalemel by the Chamulas Pedro Díaz Cuscat and Augustina Gomes Checheb. The shrine immediately became a site of religious pilgrimage by Chamulas from neighbouring parajes, resulting in an attempted suppression of the shrine by Ladino religious authorities in February of 1868. The suppression was unsuccessful: Cuscat is reported to have persisted with his shrine and to have invited Indians of neighbouring communities to visit the shrine and establish a market at Tzajalemel, which was done (Molina 1934:366). The periodicity of this first Tzajalemel market is uncertain, but was probably at least weekly. This market, and pilgrimage to the shrine, lasted from late February to early June 1868, surviving an attempt by secular Ladino authorities to suppress the shrine in May, but succumbing to a second attempt at suppression by the religious authorities in June. The shrine and market were refounded by Cuscat in Tzajalemel at the beginning of September 1868 during the fiesta of Santa Rosa. This time the market met daily and had a decided effect on neighbouring weekly markets:

> After they celebrated this feast [of Santa Rosa] with much pomp and a great attendance by Indians from several towns, the daily market of the place [Tzajalemel] was permanently established and to it came several Ladinos of this city [San Cristóbal] to sell aguardiente and, as a result, the other markets of San Pedro [Chenalhó], San Andrés [Larráinzar], Tenejapa and Chamula suffered for the reason that the Indians all attended that place [Tzajalemel] (Molina 1934:368).

In addition to those markets listed by Molina, Favre (1973:292) adds Santa Marta, Magdalenas, Santiago, Chalchihuitán and Pantelhó.

> The Ladinos who had controlled those [weekly] markets could not maintain domination over inter-community exchange and their economic

> situation was becoming more delicate every day. The commerce of the city of San Cristóbal was soon threatened in its turn... The Ladino merchants would not cease complaining and urging the authorities in San Cristóbal to intervene so as to reestablish "order" (Favre 1973:293).[13]

In early December 1868 an armed group of Ladinos from San Cristóbal attacked the Tzajalemel market, destroying the shrine and capturing some of the principal individuals connected with it. This event ended the Tzajalemel market, but subsequent events surrounding the person of Cuscat culminated in the beginning of the armed revolt on 12 June 1869.

I argue that the historical association of an "illegal" Indian market with events leading to the last major revolt in the Chiapas Highlands would cause later Ladino authorities to associate the "illegal" Indian markets at Pokolum and Yochib with the possibility of a new Indian uprising. Also, earlier events during the 1920s and 1930s may have created a background of fear and uneasiness on the part of Ladinos which could effect their reaction to the "illegal" markets, namely: (a) in 1925 Blom & LaFarge (1927:405) noted that "Trade [in San Cristóbal] has been hurt, we were told, owing to the freedom with which Chamula labor [corvée] had been commandeered in recent years, resulting in an increased use of their own market"; (b) Redfield and Villa Rojas note an undescribed "disturbance" having occurred in 1930 and describe the inter-ethnic atmosphere in 1938 as follows: "In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence" (1939:107); and (c) Aguirre Beltrán (1953:117) notes that an outbreak of Indian/Ladino violence in 1935 at the ceremonial centre of Cancuc "produced a high number of deaths on both sides."[14] It is easy to see, then, that in the 1930s and 1940s recent events as well as historical associations would provide a political motive for Ladino opposition to "illegal" Indian markets.

The Social Character of Chiapas Markets

In their essay on African markets Bohannan and Dalton (1962: 15-18) have stressed the "social aspects" of marketplaces, among which they include communication, entertainment, political significance and religious activities. All of these "social aspects" are definitely present in Highland Chiapas markets in various forms, some of which have already been described above. At this point I wish to discuss the communication and inter-personal contact aspect of Chiapas markets.

> Little of the traveling they [Zinacantecos] do now to San Cristobal, to Tuxtla Gutierrez, and to other Indian towns is motivated by desires to visit or "to see the sights." Rather they are going to market (Vogt 1970:58).
>
> Visits of Pedranos to the ceremonial centers of other groups on festal occasions combine pleasure and a little business. The excuse is unfailingly that of taking something to sell even though it be no more than a net bag of boiled chayotes (Guiteras Holmes 1961:18).

The two above quotations illustrate the disparate views of the Highland Chiapas market presented by ethnographers to their audience: one stresses a functional, goods-exchange interpretation of the market, while the other presents a more humanistic view. While I must confess that the humanistic viewpoint has a strong personal appeal to me, I also believe that it *is* indeed supported by available data.

Now, certainly one of the main motives underlying attendance at markets is the "rational" purpose of securing the necessities of life through the calculated use of one's resources. However, these "necessities" are defined as such not only by biological and physical factors but also to a great--dare I say greater?--extent by the cultural values held by the individual and current within his society. Vogt (1969b) acknowledges this in his discussion of the Zinacantecos' use of "rational" price calculation to achieve "correct" social and ritual exchanges. And at a step even further removed from the strictly bio-physical necessities are those *other* necessities of human life: news, gossip and various forms of personal interaction. Speaking of the weekly market at Larrainzar, Holland (1963:41) states:

> ...near dusk [Saturday evening before market day] the plaza is now full of people. This circumstance offers great opportunities for visiting: people from distant parajes meet to tell each other the news and exchange opinions on the events in their lives which have occurred since their last encounter. There is no doubt that the weekly market makes possible many social relationships which otherwise could not

take place in the normal course of life.[15]

I will venture to suggest that the weekly market as an institution is of dual function: (a) as a place for goods exchanges, which is how it is usually visualized by Euro-American ethnographers, and (b) as a place for social exchanges, such as those described by Holland. In Chiapas I see no reason to assign any priority to goods exchange among the raisons d'être of the weekly market. Even in the fiesta market, where religious activity ostensibly takes first place, social exchanges may be an important element: "Social life is connected with the market place [in Chenalhó] and the market is mentioned as the *first* attraction in all religious ceremonies that bring the scattered Pedrano families into the ceremonial center" (my italics; Guiteras Holmes 1961:24). Social interaction seems to have been one of the main attractions of the Yochib "illegal" market as, following its suppression by the Ladinos, Villa Rojas (1946:560) reports: "Due to the lack of the Yochib market, some persons made the journey to the town of Tenejapa or to that of Cancuc, with the object of not failing in the custom of attending the market, and drinking and chatting with their friends."[16]

On the subject of social drinking at markets Cámara Barbachano (1945a:82) makes the following observations:

> In my understanding the Indian of Tenejapa works to produce what is necessary for his diet and daily needs...A surplus or excess in the basic foodstuffs is utilized, in the majority of cases, to buy greater quantities of

> aguardiente and thus to make fiestas more joyful and share greater alcoholic pleasures with his friends and family and gain, perhaps, some social prestige by that type of action.[17]

Pozas (1959:72-76), speaking of Chamula, strongly emphasizes the positive social importance of social drinking from the Indian point of view. Indeed, throughout the Chiapas Highlands drinking of alcohol is of great social, ritual and economic importance (see the essays in Siverts 1973). The subject of social drinking throws a new light on the quote from Guiteras Holmes (above) where she states that taking something to sell is the "excuse" for visiting a fiesta market: if one is indeed going to the fiesta primarily to enjoy oneself, then some ready cash will be needed to purchase the aguardiente--hence the "net bag of boiled chayotes" or some other small amount of goods with which to obtain that ready cash!

Classification of Chiapas Markets

A classification of Chiapas markets using the criteria developed by Bohannan and Dalton (1962) results in the same marketplace being classified differently according to the ethnic group focused upon. Thus, the San Cristóbal daily market is a hub in a Market Economy--where "the primary source of subsistence goods for buyers and of income for sellers and producers is the market in the sense of transactional principle"--when focusing upon the Ladino middlemen, tenderos and market-goers, but becomes a peripheral market--not a main source of subsistence needs or income--when focusing upon the

Indian market-goers, excepting the Chamulas (Bohannan and Dalton 1962:2). This classificatory duality is a reflection of the "plural" or "multiple" society nature of the Chiapas Highlands.

The same is true for the weekly and fiesta markets: they are peripheral in terms of goods exchanges for most Indians, but an integral part of a Market Economy for the Ladino tendero or middleman. It is clear then that the Bohannan-Dalton criteria produce highly subjective results when applied to Chiapas markets.

A further comment: Highland Chiapas Indians are definitely "target marketers" who "engage in marketing sporadically to acquire a specific amount of cash income for a specific expenditure" (Bohannan and Dalton 1962:7) as is so well demonstrated by Vogt (1969b) and by the discussion of social drinking, above.

TRADERS

For the purposes of this monograph a "trader" is a person who exchanges goods with a person not of his own society. Hence an Indian who is selling or buying goods from a Ladino or from an Indian of a different community is, during the course of the transaction, acting as a "trader." On the other hand, if the exchange takes place between members of the same society, then it is not "trade"--according to my definition of the word in this monograph--and the individuals are not "traders." Since the role "trader" is context-dependent, anyone in Highland Chiapas is potentially a "trader," but there are those individuals who rely on trading for all or a significant portion of their income: these I will term "professional traders."

The Indian Producer as Trader

Most Indians in Highland Chiapas derive their basic sustenance directly from the milpa and become traders only when selling small amounts (usually) of milpa products, garden products, or craft items to Ladinos or foreign Indians or, conversely, when buying from Ladinos or foreign Indians small amounts (usually) of their products. Locations of trading may be (a) in the home of a craftsman, (b) in a market, (c) in a tienda, or (d) in various unfixed locations, such as were noted above in discussion of atajadores.

In those cases where data are available there appears to be sexual division of labour among Indian producers selling in their own weekly or fiesta markets: milpa products are sold by men, garden products are sold by women, and craft products are sold by the maker--male or female. Conversely, in buying the woman purchases foodstuffs and the products and tools which she will use in the household or in her craftwork, while the man will purchase the tools and products used in the milpa or his craftwork. Hence, in their own market Indian traders will be male or female, according to the items bought or sold.[18] In San Bartolomé and Pinola it is the local Indian women who are mentioned as selling door-to-door (Hermitte 1970:12; Salovesh 1965:321).

It is not entirely clear whether these sexual divisions in buying and selling are maintained when family groups visit markets in other communities, but it is my impression that they are. Otherwise the selling and buying in foreign markets appears to be in the hands of the men of the household, as is specifically noted regarding the sale of Amatenango pottery (J. Nash 1970:91). Data regarding the markets visited by the producer-traders of each community are woefully incomplete, but two reasonably complete examples are given in Figure 24. It will be noted from the figure that Tenejapecos attend more weekly markets than do Pedranos, which can be attributed to the string of paraje markets around the borders of Chenalhó which allows Pedranos to trade with people from neighbouring communities without having to visit those other communities. I believe that the two spheres of visitation to foreign markets shown in Figure 24 can be considered typical for the Chiapas Highlands: with visitation further afield for fiesta markets than for weekly markets. I should also point out that individuals from communities which never visit can still trade with each other by meeting at an intermediate market: for instance individuals from Chalchihuitán and Tenejapa could trade with each other at Chenalhó. As the two languages Tzotzil and Tzeltal are closely related and to a good extent mutually intelligible there is no difficulty in communication between Indian traders.

Ladino Professional Traders

In the Chiapas Highlands the majority of professional traders are Ladinos who make their homes in San Cristóbal and certain of the Indian towns. They seem to be separable into three generalized

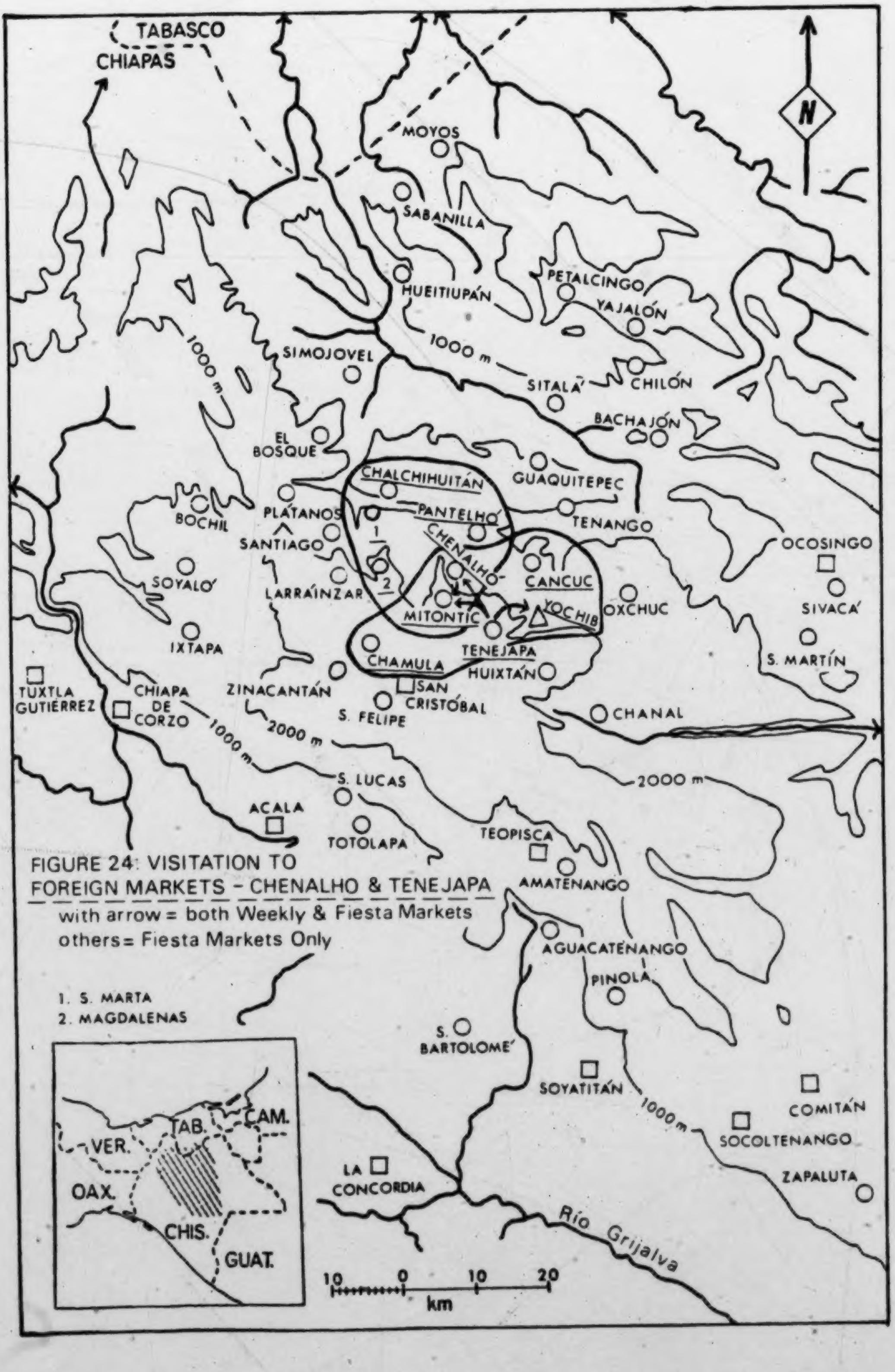


FIGURE 24: VISITATION TO FOREIGN MARKETS – CHENALHO & TENEJAPA

with arrow = both Weekly & Fiesta Markets
others = Fiesta Markets Only

1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITÁN
GUAQUITEPEC
PANTELHO
TENANGO
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
SANTIAGO
1
2
CHENALHO
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
YOCHIB
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIERREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLÁ
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
VER.
TAB.
CAM.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

groups, discussed below.

Cuxtitaleros: These are the inhabitants of Barrio de Cuxtitali in San Cristóbal, and were studied in the late 1960s by Plattner (1972, 1975a, 1975b). The men of Cuxtitali earn their living through itinerant trading and pig-buying in the Highlands: traveling from paraje to paraje through the Indian communities selling Ladino goods and/or buying pigs which the Indians fatten during the dry season when crops are not grown. When observed by Plattner in the 1960s Cuxtitaleros used mules to carry their goods through the Highlands, but prior to the 1940s it is likely that Indian cargadores were used instead (see the discussion of cargadores in Chapter 4). Cuxtitaleros following the same occupations are mentioned from the 1940s by de la Peña (1951:1034) and appear to have at least been itinerant pig-buyers for more than a century as witnessed by an official document of 1869 reporting the trial and sentencing of some Chamula rebels:

> ...who, furthermore, are responsible for the murders and robberies committed against five Custictaleros in the neighborhood of the town of San Miguel [Mitontic]...(p. 389).
>
> This same criminal [Mateo Hernández Coc] in spite of his attempts to deny that he was one of those who attacked the five Custictaleros... was not able to conceal his complicity and confessed that...he was with the rebels...and that he ate of the flesh of the stolen pigs (p. 390).[19]

Other Itinerant Traders: Plattner (1975a:61-62) gives one the impression that Cuxtitaleros have a near monopoly on itinerant trading in the Highlands, but other sources suggest otherwise. Siverts (1969a:34-36) in his survey of the barrios in San Cristóbal notes comerciantes in the barrios of La Merced and Santa Guadalupe and comerciantes ambulantes in those of San Antonio and Tlaxcala. De la Peña (1951:1034) notes that "the inhabitants of the barrio of Guadalupe are itinerant merchants with droves of mules..."[20] Furthermore, Guiteras Holmes (1946a:10-11; 1946b:44) describes groups of itinerant traders composed mostly of Ladino women, whom she calls sabaderas because they arrive on Saturday evenings just before the Sunday market days.[21] Other ethnographers of the 1940s also noted these women, calling them gariteras because they used the garitas present in the marketplaces (Pozas 1959:107; Cámara Barbachano as cited in Guiteras Holmes 1946a:41). Pozas (1959: 107-108) gives an extensive list of items sold by the gariteras.

Ladino Wholesale Buyers: As they have not been studied the data are limited, but apparently there are Ladinos established in some Indian communities who buy wholesale the cash crops and agricultural surpluses grown by the Indians. The cash crops are wheat (never used by Indians), coffee, tobacco, caña and chile (see discussion in Chapter 4 and Appendix 2). These Ladino buyers appear to live in the Indian towns of Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961: 41, 51, 59), Larráinzar (Holland 1963:44-45), and Tenejapa (de la Peña 1951:397; Ricardo Pozas, as quoted in Cámara Barbachano 1945a:101); and in the Ladinoized towns of Teopisca (J. Nash, 1969:

1/9) and Pinola (Hermitte 1970:11, 12). Although the data are scarce and not unambiguous it appears that the communities mentioned, certainly Pinola and perhaps the others, are "rural bulking centres" (such as those described for Guatamala by C. Smith 1972) which collect produce and channel it to San Cristóbal and beyond into the state, national and international commerce of the Ladino world.

Indian Professional Traders

Only Indians from two, or possibly three, communities are known to be professional traders:

Zinacanteco Salt Traders: Zinacantecos are stereotyped by some Indians as "salt traders" (Collier 1975:177), however only relatively few Zinacantecos actually trade in salt. The salt traders are men from four patrilineages who "purchase salt cakes in Ixtapa at bulk rates, pack them on mules, and trade along fixed non-competing routes through the highlands" (Collier 1975:174). Their recorded sphere of operations in recent times is shown in Appendix 2: Figure 11, where they sell at weekly and fiesta markets. Vogt (1969a: 109, 112) notes Zinacantecos visiting the markets of Tuxtla Gutiérrez and Chiapa de Corzo, but these are probably not salt traders but simply the Zinacantecos who are farming rented lands in the Grijalva Basin. Apparently the salt traders also deal in other goods to a small extent at present (Collier 1975:174). According to Wasserstrom (1976:487-488) prior to the Mexican Revolution the Zinacantecos traded their salt into the Tabasco lowlands as far as

Yajalon, exchanging it for local produce which they could trade in San Cristóbal. They also were active as muleteers doing contract hauling (Wasserstrom 1978:200; see also my discussion of muleteers in Chapter 4).

Chamula Traders: Men from the community of Chamula form the majority of Indian professional traders.[22] Chamulas deal in Indian products, especially their own crafts (wool weaving, leatherwork, pottery, manos and metates, wooden furniture, musical instruments) and their own produce (eggs, garden produce, aguardiente, chicha), but also crafts and produce originating elsewhere: Amatenango pottery, Ixtapa salt, Tenejapa oranges, etc. They also are noted as muleteers engaging in contract hauling (see discussion of muleteers in Chapter 4). The item which the Chamula traders buy most frequently is maize: Chamula is maize-poor because of overpopulation and erosion (see Collier 1975:109-123). Trade is simply another make-do semi-specialization, along with Chamula craft specialties and wage-labour, oriented towards obtaining the subsistence needs and social necessities which the community's land cannot adequately supply. It seems then that Chamulas are traders more by necessity than by desire, and for most Chamula traders it seems to be a part-time profession. Figure 25 shows the known sphere of Chamula trading, although I feel certain that other communities, such as Santa Marta and Magdalenas, are also visited; the extension down to Pinola is a recent result of the Pan-American

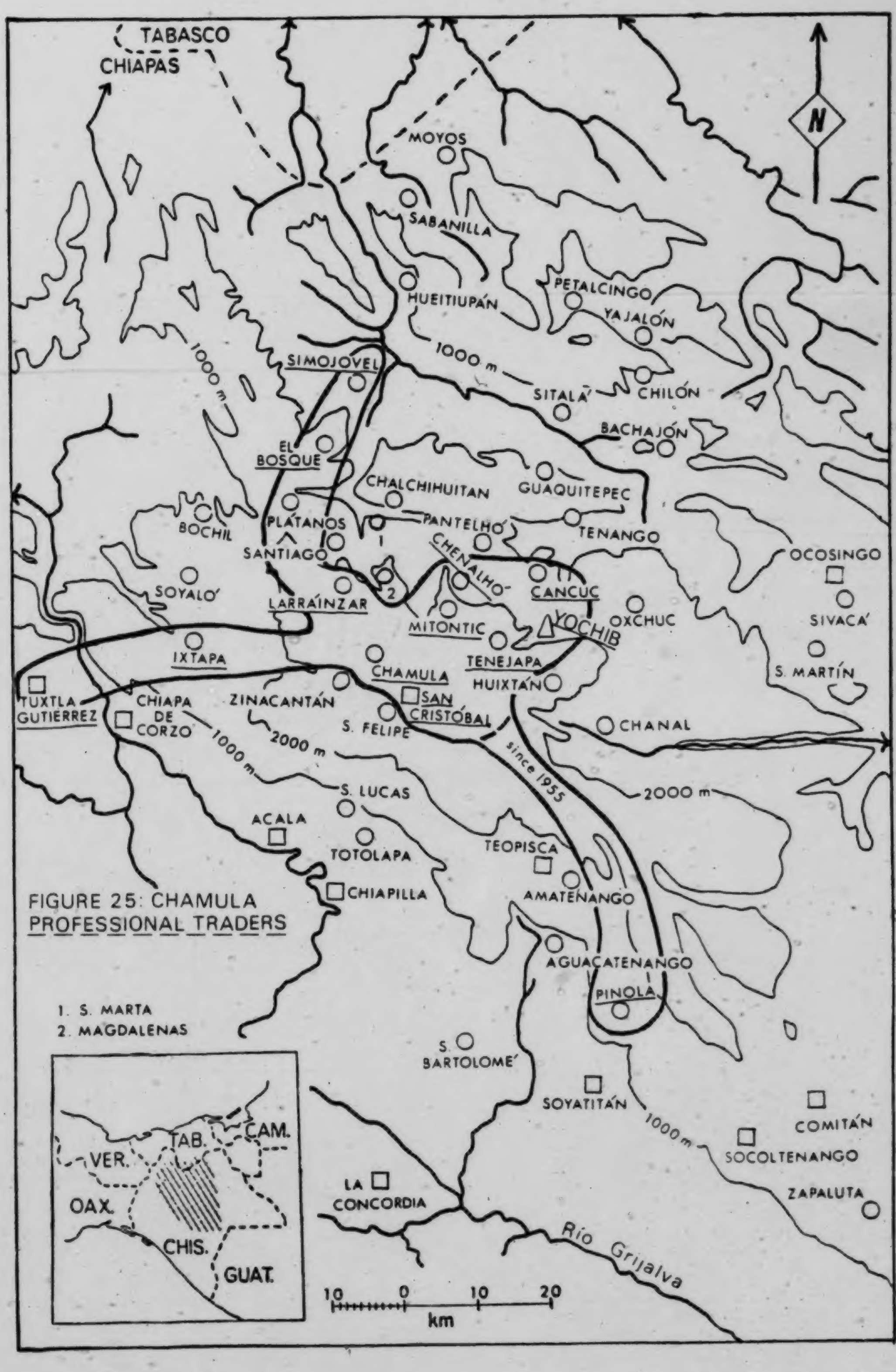

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLATANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
2
CANCUC
LARRAÍNZAR
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
YOCHIB
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
TUXTLA GUTIERREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
HUIXTÁN
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
since 1955
S. LUCAS
2000 m
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
VER.
TAB.
CAM.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
10
0
10
20
km

FIGURE 25: CHAMULA PROFESSIONAL TRADERS

Highway and increased motorized traffic from Pinola to San Cristóbal (Hill 1964:96).

Tenejapeco Traders: There seems to be evidence of small scale professional trading on the part of Tenejapecos, although the data are scarce and more suggestive than conclusive. For instance, Tenejapecos are recorded as selling salt in the Yochib market and at a fiesta market in Cancuc (see Appendix 2: Figure 11), which salt they probably purchased from Zinacantecos at the Tenejapa market. As the Tenejapecos are known to have acted as cargadores, I suspect that while transporting loads for others from the Highlands into the northern lowlands they would also engage in a little private trading on the side, such--perhaps--as the Highland salt recorded in a Bachajón home by Blom and LaFarge (1927:339). Since it appears that use of cargadores has ceased, it is uncertain whether or not Tenejapecos continue to trade in the lowlands.

Constraints on Indian Professional Traders: It seems to me that there are several constraints acting to limit the numbers of Indian professional traders in the Chiapas Highlands. These are (a) lack of access to some important trade goods, (b) lack of a favourable system of market periodicity, and (c) the minor degree of community specialization.

The first point, lack of access to important trade goods, refers to the fact that certain goods of widespread use in the Highlands are monopolized by the Ladino professional traders: the enagua material made in a barrio of San Cristóbal and ~~which~~ forms the basis of the Ladino traders' stock; copal incense, a religious necessity handled only by Ladino traders; candles and sky-rockets, also religious necessities, made and traded only by Ladinos; machetes and other metal implements, made and traded only by Ladinos, etc. The access limitation is partly one of technical knowledge--in the case of metal-working--and partly social as Indians cannot obtain credit from Ladino suppliers as can the Ladino traders (Plattner 1975a:60).

Secondly, the market system operates so that concentrations of potential buyers occur simultaneously everywhere and only once every seven days: at the weekly Sunday market. This timing is not very favourable to a would-be professional trader, especially when compared to the "solar-system" type market systems found elsewhere in Mesoamerica.[23] Even the intercalation of fiesta markets does not much improve the periodicity situation.

Finally, the minor degree of community production specialization (discussed in Chaper 4), which means a relatively high degree of self-sufficiency in most communities, does not demand or encourage a frequent exchange of large quantities of goods between the Indian communities. What exchange is necessary is usually accomplished through the small quantity retailing done by the visiting producer-traders.

External Trade Contracts

The Tzotzils have some direct trade contacts with the Zoques of of Tuxtla Gutiérrez and Zoque towns north of Tuxtla, as noted by the Cordrys (1941:47), but even as there is little ethnographic information on the Zoques so there is little on trade with them. The lowland Tzeltals, and their Tzotzil neighbours to the west, probably have some trade contacts with the Chol who live to the north, but I have no positive evidence of this. There are some trade contacts with Guatemalan and extreme southeastern Chiapas Indians, but these will be covered in Chapter 8.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON TRADE AND MARKETS

Ch'ivit Krus (Market Cross)

"There is one site on the trail between Zinacantán Center and Ixtapa, marked by a cross shrine called 'Market Cross,' where in former times Zinacantecos reportedly met peoples from the lowlands to engage in trade" (Vogt 1969a:109). The "trail" noted by Vogt is the old road of Spanish Colonial and 19th Century times (see Figures 12 and 13). The archeological site at Ch'ivit Krus is described by McVicker (1974:549), who notes that "Important rituals connected with the visiting of saints between Ixtapa and Zinacantan are held at this place..." and suggests that it is the site of the prehispanic market of Zinacantán which is noted in Aztec records (de Sahagún 1959:21-22). If indeed Ch'ivit Krus is the site of the prehispanic market, then the lowland peoples who traded there were likely the Zoque from the northwest, rather than the Chiapanec of the south and southwest who were enemies of the Highland peoples (Navarrete 1966).

It is also possible that Ch'ivit Krus has functioned as a marketplace during Spanish Colonial times, although at present there are no data to support such an interpretation. Pozas (1959:108-109) records an analogous rendevous at Ixtapa of lowland merchants from Tuxtla Gutiérrez with Chamula traders in the ethnographic present. The recent development of the Nachij semi-weekly market also seems to carry on this highland/lowland exchange tradition.

Highland Economic History

Several authors have essayed economic histories of the Chiapas Highlands in greater or lesser detail (Cámara Barbachano 1966:15-57; Favre 1973:23-79; and Wasserstrom 1976), all of whom tend to stress the socio-political economics of land ownership, control and use, i.e., the means of production. Little has been written concerning trade and exchange, particularly as regards the Indians. Wasserstrom has developed an economic history for Zinacantán, dividing it into three periods--which I summarize below, adding some material from the other sources.

First Period (A. D. 1529-1821): Following the Spanish Conquest and Reconquest of Highland Chiapas, Ciudad Real (the present San Cristóbal) was established as the centre of administration and residence of the Spaniards in the highlands. Initially, most secular Spaniards lived off their share of the Indian tribute collected from communities held encomienda. With the eventual lapse of encomienda rights, the descendants of the encomenderos founded haciendas devoted to raising cattle or various cash crops. The majority of cash cropping, however, was carried on by the Catholic Church on large, usually lowland plantations. Indian labour was used by both the Church and the secular Spaniards. Trade was in the hands of the principal royal officials, the alcaldes mayores.

Late in the colonial period (ca. 1790) Bourbon administrative reform removed the alcaldes mayores and other obstacles to economic development. A resulting boom in legal and illegal trade encouraged expansion of secular plantations, leading to pressure for more Indians to become labourers. Some Zinacantecos avoided this fate by becoming merchants and muleteers. It should be noted that high tribute quotas had forced many Indians to be labourers throughout the Colonial Period, hence the late colonial economic boom led to further depopulation of Indian communities.

Second Period (A. D. 1821-1915): The trends of the late colonial period continued throughout this period, the main development being the increased alienation of Indian lands in the highlands and increasing numbers of Indians held to haciendas by debt-bondage. Some Zinacantecos maintained their freedom through continuing to act as merchants and muleteers and their ranks seem to have swollen through addition of others attempting to avoid the haciendas. It appears that population density was kept low in the Indian communities despite steady growth in numbers by the drawing off of labourers for the haciendas. It seems, however, that at least one community--

Chamula--was becoming too populous for its land base by the end of the period, as Chamulas provided the greatest number of labourers on the coffee fincas (to the point that on the coffee fincas all Highland Indians were labeled chamulas).

Third Period (A. D. 1915 - the present): This began with the cancellation of debt-bondage on haciendas by the revolutionary military governor of Chiapas. A forced exodus of Indian labourers from the haciendas and their sudden return to their home communities caused an immediate population crisis. As Wasserstrom does not relate events in the other Indian communities, we only know the outcome in Zinacantán: some returned Indians immediately colonized unused lands within the community, while others remained poor and unemployed. No doubt many of these latter worked on the coffee fincas in order to support themselves. However that may be, the landless Indians became a force pressing for the establishment of ejidos, the first of which appeared in 1940.

Meanwhile, it seems that many Zinacantecos continued to be merchants and muleteers. It was this group within Zinacantán, with ready cash at hand, which began renting lowland farming plots from Ladinos in the 1930s. The combination of ejidos and land rental seems to have prevented--or defused-- a subsistence crisis in Zinacantan. I suspect that ejido creation has also blunted the effects of population growth for many other Indian communities. More recent efforts by the Instituto Nacional Indigenista to establish agricultural colonies of Highland Indians in unoccupied tropical forest areas also must be acting to prevent a subsistence crisis in some communities. Returning to Zinacantán, the availability of farming lands in ejidos and through rental seems to be drawing Zinacantecos away from trading activities. Their place is taken by the Chamulas, whose subsistence crisis continues to propel them into further entrepreneurial efforts.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

[1] Indian-operated tiendas are reported for Amatenango (J. Nash 1970:85) and Zinacantán (Colby 1966:29-30).

[2] Mention and description of Ladino tiendas in Indian communities is given for Pinola (Hermitte 1970:10-12), Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60-61), Oxchuc and Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1966:97), Bachajón (Breton 1973:68) and Larráinzar (Holland 1963:43).

[3] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> Todas las indígenas hacen el "regateo", es decir, las frases que dicen al vendeador para lograr un mas bajo precio del producto que desean adquirir (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:85).

[4] The most complete descriptions of San Cristóbal and its markets are given in Siverts (1969a:29-43) and Aguirre Beltrán (1953: 99-106). See also de la Peña (1951:1033-1035).

[5] My translation; in the original French:

> ...aux abords de la rue principale...se regroupent toutes les boutiques («tiendas») tenues pour la plupart par les ladinos, qui monopolisent le commerce entre la communauté et l'exterieur. A part l'établissement, chaque dimanche, de quelques métis de la région qui vendent vêtements modernes et jouets en matière plastique, il n'y a pas à proprement parler de marché au village... L'artisanat est très appauvri et les rares productions sont en vent dans les boutiques permanentes; il n'existe pas de spécialisation économique propre à engendre le système d'echanges caractéristique du marché indien (Tax 1952) (Breton 1973:68).

[6] Specific accounts of fiesta markets are available for these communities: Chamula (Pozas 1959:108), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40-41), Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:90-91) and Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:11). Briefer mention of fiesta markets is made for Zinacantán (Vogt 1969a:109), Bachajón (Blom and LaFarge 1927:355) and Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:19).

[7] The main sources on the Yochib "illegal" market are Villa Rojas (1946:547-560) and Cámara Barbachano (1945a:95), with some mention of it in Cámara Barbachano (1966:90) and Lombardo Otero (1944).

[8] Cancuc is not an independent municipio but is an agencia municipal of Ocosingo. Oxchuc also used to be a dependency of Ocosingo, but is now separate.

[9] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> Mi asistente, que es ladino originario de Tenejapa, me cuenta que, hasta hace 4 años, este mercado tenía su asiento en un punto llamado Pokolum situado dos kilómetros mas al Poniente, en terrenos de Tenejapa. El lugar fue abandonado por los indios debido a que los Autoridades prohibieron la costumbre de comerciar allí desde el día en que ocurrió una trifulca en que murieron un blanco y dos indios. Todavía en la actualidad los indios que concurren a Yochib lo hacen subrepticiamente por el temor de ser sorprendidos por las Autoridades.

[10] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> Alrededor de 1953 se estableció dentro del

> Municipio de Oxchuc, el centro auxiliar de Yochib. . . La agencia surgió como proyecto de un joven ambicioso que había fungido por un año como secretario del municipio, primero y único indígena que ocupara ese puesto, y que había sido maestro de la escuela de Yochib.

[11] The only primary account available to me was that given by Molina (1934). The secondary accounts in Favre (1973:287-301) and Pozas (1959:18-21) are based both on Molina (1934) and on additional primary sources.

[12] For a primary source on the 1712 Revolt see Ximénez (1931: 257-343); an interpretation of this revolt is given by Klein (1966).

[13] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> Los ladinos que controlaban esos mercados no lograban ya dominar los cambios intercomunitarios y su situación económica iba haciendose cada día mas delicada. El comercio de la ciudad de San Cristóbal no tardó en ser amenazado a su vez.
>
> Los comerciantes ladinos no dejaban de quejarse y de incitar a los autoridades de San Cristóbal para que intervinieron a fin de restablecer el "orden."

[14] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> . . . produjo una suma elevada de muertos por ambos lados.

Regarding this Redfield and Villa Rojas (1939) state "in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians."

[15] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> . . . cerca del anochecer, la plaza ya está repleta

> de gente. Este acontecimiento ofrece grandes oportunidades de convivencia; la gente de los parajes alejados se reune para contarse mutuamente las noticias e intercambiar opiniones acerca de lo que ha ocurrido en su vida desde el último encuentro que tuvieron. Indudablemente el mercado semanal hace posibles muchas relaciones sociales que, de otra manera, no tendrían lugar en el curso normal de la vida.

[16] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> A falta del mercado de Yochib, algunos hicieron viaje hasta el pueblo de Tenejapa o al de Cancuc, con objeto de no faltar a la costumbre de asistir al mercado, librar y charlar con los amigos.

[17] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> A mi entender el indígena de Tenejapa trabaja para producir lo necesario para su dieta y consumo diario.... La sobre producción o excedente en el consumo básico es utilizado, en la mayoría de los casos, para comprar mayor cantidad de aguardiente y lograr así hacer fiestas mas alegres y proporcionar a las amistades y familiares mayores placeres alcohólicos y ganar, quizá, algun prestigio social por ese tipo de acción.

[18] See discussion in Pozas (1959:119) and Guiteras Holmes (1961: 51-52); also see the comments by Guiteras Holmes and Cámara Barbachano in chapter note 11 in Tax (1952:72).

[19] Quoted from a translated document appended to the account of the Cuscat Revolt given by Molina (1934:389, 390).

[20] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> ...los pobladores del barrio de Guadalupe son comerciantes ambulantes con atajos de mulas...

[21] Guiteras Holmes' description is worth giving here (1946a: 10-11):

> Todas las mujeres y hombres, predominando siempre las primeras, se pasan el año viajando por los caminos de pueblo en pueblo, de fiesta en fiesta...Compran en Las Casas y traen su carga a vender en los pueblos...Todos estos comerciantes se conocen porque llevan años recorriendo los mismos caminos y encontrándose en las mismas plazas y mercados.

[22] The basic description of Chamula trading is given by Pozas (1959:108-109) but they are frequently mentioned in descriptions of Highland markets; see: Cámara Barbachano (1945a:85, 90-91; 1945b;11, 14), Guiteras Holmes (1961:59-60), Holland (1963:551), Blom & LaFarge (1927:390, 402, 404-405), Villa Rojas (1946:551), Starr (1908:44-45), Hill (1964:96). See also Appendix 2 and the discussions of various Indian products in Chapter 4.

[23] A "solar" or cyclical type market system consists of a cluster or group of marketplaces which operate at staggered intervals during the week, which allows a professional trader to travel a short distance but still be able to sell in an active market each day of the week, if he so desires. Such systems occur in Guatemala (as will be described in Chapter 7) and in Oaxaca (Warner 1976).

CHAPTER 6

EFFECTS OF INTERNAL EXCHANGE ON TRADE; ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY OF THE INDIAN TRADE SYSTEM IN CHIAPAS

The present chapter explores the possible effects on trade of the various internal exchange institutions, and then presents analysis and summary of the trade system as a whole.

EFFECTS OF INTERNAL EXCHANGE INSTITUTIONS

The Cargo System[1]

The cargo system is a parallel and interlinked dual-hierarchy of religious and political offices which have traditionally governed the internal political and religious life of a Highland Maya community (see Chapter 3). As the cargo system is a central institution, its operation may be expected to effect to some degree all other aspects of a Maya society. This multifaceted nature has led anthropologists to view and interpret it from a number of different perspectives.[2] Of direct concern to this thesis is the role of the cargo system as an internal redistributive institution.

The cargo system acts as a redistributive institution in that each cargo-holder, to a greater or lesser extent, is expected to expend his own money, effort and time for the benefit of the community as a whole during his year tenure of office. This redistribution of personal wealth is most striking in the highest cargo positions, where a man may expend most of his waking time and the equivalent of several years' income in expenditures in the performance of his duties. The expenses of all traditional cargos are borne primarily by the holder and his household,[3] and not only tend to eliminate any monetary savings and stunt or prevent subsistence activities ("production") by the household for a year's time, but often leave the household deeply in debt.

It is sometimes argued that the large expenditures on cargo positions serve to burn up capital which otherwise might be used in trading ventures. However, trading as a subsistence activity seems to be initiated by young men, who have not yet reached the expensive senior cargos. Hence, an individual is likely to be already established in trading (to have bought his mules, learned his trade route, and generally "established" himself) before he is called upon to bear the more expensive cargos. Also, as most Chiapas communities are expanding in population, the "rest period" between cargos also expands --providing a greater opportunity to cancel old debts and amass "capital." Trade itself is not adversely affected by one individual ceasing his activities for a year in order to hold a cargo, as his place will be filled by another individual offering the same goods or services.

The fiestas sponsored by cargo-holders directly promote trade in that each religious fiesta is accompanied by a fiesta market which involves both townsmen and the fiesta visitors from outside the town. Manning Nash (1961) has shown how the specialty pottery production of Amatenango reaches its peaks just before fiestas in Amatenango and its neighbouring communities. Such peaks of production occur not only because an approaching fiesta will provide a ready market for the pottery, but also because sale of pottery prior to the fiesta provides ready cash, such as will be needed for purchases at the fiesta market and such as will be needed by fiesta sponsors to finance the fiesta itself. It is this last aspect, the boosting of pottery production and trade in order to finance the fiesta, where the cargo system acts most directly to promote trading activities. Lack of data on production in other specialty communities prevents me from stating whether or not this pattern is generally true for the Maya Highlands.

In summary, the cargo system does not seem to act to suppress trade, but rather to encourage it.

Compadrazgo

Compadrazgo is a Spanish-Catholic institution of fictive kinship transplanted to Spanish America and there reshaped to fit local conditions. In Mediterranean Europe the institution is primarily the spiritual sponsorship by godparents (*padrino/madrina*) of a godchild (*ahijado/ahijada*) at the Catholic rituals of baptism, confirmation and marriage; secondly, it is the acceptance of responsibility by padrinos for the spiritual instruction of ahijados; thirdly, and less generally, it is the acceptance by padrinos of parental responsibilities towards their ahijados in the event of death or disability of the parents; fourthly, it is the establishment of a reciprocal spiritual kinship between parents and godparents, which is expressed by the reciprocal terms compadre/comadre (literally: "co-father"/"co-mother"). It is this last set of terms which gives the institution its name: compadrazgo ("co-parenthood"), although the primary bonds are between padrinos and ahijados. In Spanish America however the institution has often been modified to place greater emphasis on the parent/godparent relationship and to expand the number of such relationships; both changes have at their base the expansion of social and economic relationships.[4]

In their analysis Mintz and Wolf (1950:363-364) describe compadrazgo in Latin America as establishing two kinds of socio-economic relationships: (a) horizontal (intra-class) relationships, where compadres are essentially social peers, and (b) vertical (inter-class) relationships, where compadres are not peers but belong to separate and distinct social strata. This distinction is useful for describing compadrazgo as it exists among the Highland Maya where both horizontal and vertical forms exist, and serve different purposes.

In the Maya Highlands horizontal compadrazgo is established between Indians who are members of the same community, and is usually rather limited in scope: it consists of a relatively weak padrino/ahijado relationship centred on the Catholic baptismal rite, with few post-baptism spiritual or financial obligations on the part of the padrino. While usually more important, the compadre/compadre component of the relationship is also weakly developed, obligations being generally limited to friendly relations, small loans and minor reciprocal favours, as at Santiago Chimaltenango (Wagley 1949:17-19). Although with a wide distribution in the Maya Highlands,[5] this institution of reciprocity exchange is but poorly documented.

The major exception to this picture is the Tzotzil town of Zinacantán, where compadrazgo has been highly elaborated into a major system of reciprocity exchange (Vogt 1969a:230-238). In brief, an immense net of reciprocal exchange relations is established through the use of compadrazgo, and these relationships are heavily used for borrowing money to finance cargo positions, weddings, etc. This net of relationships has great potential for amassing capital for trading ventures or other entrepreneurial activities, but does not seem to have been extensively used for such purposes as yet. It is important to note that Zinacantán is atypical in the economic importance of its horizontal compadrazgo: I know of no other Highland Maya community with a comparable system. Hence, with the possible exception of Zinacantán, horizontal compadrazgo cannot be seen to significantly influence trading activities.

Most vertical compadrazgo relationships occur between the different social strata of Ladino society, but some do cross societal lines to link Ladinos with Indians (van den Burghe & van den Burghe 1966). The relationship is always one of a Ladino acting as padrino to the child of an Indian family, with the compadre relationship between the Indian family head and the Ladino padrino being effectively that of client/patron. As described for Zinacantán and Chenalhó, the relationship provides the Indian marchante (client) with lodging, meals and perhaps credit from his Ladino compadre (Vogt 1969a:237; Guiteras Holmes 1961:20); these relationships are with Ladinos in the town-centre of the municipio and with Ladinos in San Cristóbal. Noted, but not described, is the establishment of compadrazgo relationships between the Indians of Amatenango and the Ladinos of Teopisca (J. Nash 1969:1/9), and between Indians and Ladinos of Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1966:98).

I suggest that vertical compadrazgo in the above cases may be a form of trading partnership; this is certainly implied for Chenalhó. The advantages for the Indian listed in the paragraph above would be particularly important to an Indian trader in San Cristóbal, where--furthermore--the Ladino compadre could act as a buffer and protector against conflicts with and abuse by other Ladinos.

Aside from the above, the only other evidence for trading partnerships in the Highland Maya area is a tantalizing tidbit provided by Heider (1969:469):

> Smuggling, or contraband trade, may also resemble visiting trade institutions. Stephen Borhegyi (in a personal communication) has pointed out that after the establishment of the international Chiapas-Guatemala border disrupted the old trading patterns, a contraband trade developed that involved kinlike trading partners.

There are no further details on this case, but the phrase "kinlike trading partners" is very suggestive of some form of compadrazgo.

Internal Circulation of Goods

Household Exchanges: A more-or-less continuous exchange of small amounts of goods between households within an Indian society is probably universal in Highland Chiapas, but has received little attention from ethnographers. In the only detailed statement on the subject, Siverts (1969a:95-96) describes two forms of household exchanges in Oxchuc:

> 1) Exchanges of gifts between relatives within the sub-clan [patrilineage], between near affinal relatives, and between clan members who maintain diadic relations. The exchange frequently takes the form of a credit arrangement--'deferred exchange' ...
>
> [However,] Frequently the exchange occurs simultaneously: gifts are given and gifts are received. Whichever form the exchange takes, it remains a circulation of temporary surpluses.[6]

The items given as gifts are often uncommon or special items, ones which the giver has in excess but that the receiver will be glad to obtain.

> 2) The second pattern is characterized by indirect reference to the Mexican monetary unit. In this case the exchange is also a barter of merchandise--of natural produce--but now realized between members of the same paraje. The exchange is formal in the sense that a determined amount of beans valued at 50 centavos, for example, has the same value or can be exchanged for a bunch of bananas during a certain season of the year.[7]

Apparently there is also direct purchase of items with money, as well as barter. Siverts (1969a:95) stresses that "internal commerce" within Oxchuc is of greater importance than "external commerce" (trade).

Internal Exchange at Markets: At any Indian market, weekly or fiesta, some of the exchanges will be internal ones, i.e., between members of the same community. However, the relative amounts of "internal"-versus-"external" exchange at these markets has never been documented: while ethnographers have often faithfully recorded the social identity of vendors, the identity of the customers has gone generally unremarked. There is, then, a crying need for field studies documenting internal-vs-external exchange in the markets. Until such data are available, nothing further can be said regarding internal exchange at the markets.

AN ANALYTICAL TABULATION OF AGENT/MOVEMENT/ SPACE RELATIONSHIPS IN CHIAPAS INDIAN TRADE

The following tabulation is based upon the "typology" presented in Chapter 1 (q.v.). This list includes only those exchanges in which Indians are directly involved, and focuses upon examples of the main trading institutions: a daily market in a Ladino centre, a weekly market in an Indian centre, the Yochib market (as the only well-described example of a market at a boundary, rather than at a centre), and an example of the Ladino peddlers. No example of a fiesta market is given as the trading relationships found are the same as those in the weekly market.

Daily Market (Example: San Cristóbal daily market)

Two-Party Trading:

a) Visting Trade: visiting Indian sells to Ladinos, buys Ladino products.

Central Place Trading:

a) Central Place Middleman: Amatenanguero sells pottery to Ladino middleman, who sells it to other Indians.

b) Central Marketplace: Chamula sells chamarras to other Indians, buys Zinacanteco maize.

Weekly Market (Example: Larráinzar weekly market)

Non-Trade:

a) Internal Exchange: Andrescos exchange with each other.

Two-Party Trading:

a) Visiting Trade: visiting Chamula sells furniture to Andrescos, buys maize from Andrescos.

b) Resident Agent Trade: resident Ladino buys wheat from Andrescos, sends it to San Cristóbal.

Central Place Trading:

a) Central Marketplace: Chamula sells chicha to Santiaguero, buys panela from Marteño.

Multiple-Party Trading:

a) Visiting Middleman: Zinacanteco sells Ixtapa salt to

Andrescos.

b) Resident Middleman: Ladino tendero buys lowland fruit from Marteño, sells it to Andrescos during week.

c) Trading Chain: Chamula sells Amatenango pottery to Andrescos (Chamula bought pottery from a Ladino in San Cristóbal, who bought it from an Amatenanguero).

Yochib Market

Two-Party Trading:

a) Boundary Trade: Tenejapecos trade with Cancuqueros and Oxchuqueros at market on their common boundaries.

Central Place Trading:

a) Central Marketplace: Ladinos sell to and buy from Indians.

Cuxtitalero Itinerant Traders

Two-Party Trading:

a) Visiting Trade: Cuxtitalero sells Ladino products to Indians, buys pigs from Indians.

In summary, the following agent/movement/space relationships are found in Indian trade in the Chiapas Highlands:

Two-Party Trading:

Visiting Trade

Resident Agent Trade

Boundary Trade

Central Place Trading:

Central Place Middleman

Central Marketplace

Multiple-Party Trading:

Visiting Middleman

Resident Middleman

Trading Chain

It is immediately demonstrated that many different relationships can be present and carried out simultaneously in the same market. Furthermore, one individual may pass quickly from one relationship to another in the course of his/her marketing. It appears that the maximum variety of relationships occurs at the weekly market, of which the fiesta market is an augmented version. It is also apparent that only Ladinos act as Resident Agents, Central Place Middlemen, or Resident Middlemen; while only Indians are involved in Boundary Trade or as Visiting Middlemen. Both Indians and Ladinos are involved in Visiting Trade, the Central Marketplace, and the Trading Chain.

A SUMMARY OF CHIAPAS INDIAN TRADE

The System of Indian Trade

Indian trade in the Chiapas Highlands may be characterized firstly by a relatively low volume of trade between Indians, and secondly by a greater volume of trade between Indians and Ladinos.

Trade between Indians is in Indian products. The majority of the trading is done by producer-traders, the main exception being the

Chamula professional traders. And most of the trading occurs at the weekly and fiesta markets of the Indian communities.

Trade between Indians and Ladinos may be in Ladino products, which are always sold by the Ladinos, or in Indian products (cash crops, surpluses, craft goods) which Ladinos buy for their own use, to resell to other Ladinos, or to resell to other Indians. The trading activity may be at the weekly and fiesta markets, but also at Ladino daily markets and in the parajes.

It can be seen that the role of "middleman" is dominated by Ladinos, with most Indian-to-Indian trading being limited to producers selling their own products within a limited geographical range.

Factors Maintaining the System

Community Self-Sufficiency: The low volume of Indian-to-Indian trade results from the relatively high degree of self-sufficiency in Indian products in most communities. Another symptom of community self-sufficiency is the low degree of specialization. The highland/lowland ecological dichotomy, generally assumed to promote trade volume, does not seem to be a major factor in the Chiapas communities, probably because most communities' territories cross-cut the major agricultural zones so that internal exchange of produce between lowland and highland parajes obviates the need to exchange such goods externally--that is, through trade. The geographic and demographic elements which underlie community self-sufficiency will be considered in some detail in Chapter 9.

Limitations on Indian Professional Traders: Low volume of Indian-to-Indian trade and a low degree of community specialization cannot be said to create a favourable climate for the expansion of Indians into professional trading. Other constraints, previously discussed, are the lack of access to important trade goods and the lack of a favourable market day periodicity. Furthermore, recent growth of middleman activity in the Chiapas Highlands is directly linked to modern transportation which Indians are less readily equipped--in terms of technical knowledge and capital--to take advantage of than are Ladino traders.

Non-Economic Factors: I have previously suggested that the major institution of Indian trade, the weekly market, has strongly social functions which are probably as important for its maintenance as the goods exchanges, given the relatively low volume of trade.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

[1] A much more extensive description and discussion of the cargo system was contained in the defense version of this thesis. The present section represents a reduction of that discussion to its most relevant points.

[2] Some of the "functional" interpretations of the cargo system tendered by anthropologists are the following:

a) An institution which confirms and enforces ("validates") the status quo ("customs") of a Highland Maya society through religious ritual and administrative and judicial processes.

b) An institution which, through the ranking of its component offices, provides acquired prestige ("social status") to individual persons within the society (Cancian 1965:136-140).

c) An institution which, through the necessary expenditure of money on ritual goods (such as incense, candles, skyrockets, aguardiente, etc.) and the necessary reduction/curtailment of subsistence activities (milpa work, itinerant trading, wage labour, etc.) on the part of cargo-holders, acts to "level" (equalize) the "economic status" of individuals within the society (M. Nash 1958:69).

d) An institution which, through the expenditure of prayer and religious goods, maintains the crucial reciprocal exchanges with the supernatural (Vogt 1976).

[3] The cargos are unsalaried--a legacy of the Spanish tradition

of civil service. However, all communities for which there are detailed ethnographies aid sponsors of fiestas through public donations and a few communities aid some cargo-holders by working milpa for them (Oxchuc, Chamula and Chenalhó in Chiapas; Jacaltenango in Guatemala).

[4] See Gudeman (1972) for a structural analysis of the spiritual relationships in compadrazgo. For a comparison of Spanish and Spanish American compadrazgo see Foster (1953:3-10).

[5] In Chiapas it is recorded for Amatenango, Oxchuc, Chenalhó and Larráinzar; in Guatemala for Chichicastenango, Cantel, Panajachel, Santa Catarina Palopó, Santa Cruz La Laguna, San Antonio Palopó, Santiago Atitlán, Momostenango, Nahualá and Santiago Chimaltenango.

[6] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> 1.) Intercambio de regalos entre parientes dentro del sub-clan, entre parientes cercanos afines y entre miembros del clan con los cuales se guardan relaciones diadicas. El intercambio toma frequentemente forma de un arreglo a credito--'intercambio diferido'...
>
> Con frequencia el intercambio se realiza simultaneamente; se llevan regalos y se reciben regalos. De cualquier modo existe una circulación de la 'sobre producción' temporal (Siverts 1969a:95-96).

[7] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> 2.) El siguiente patrón se caracteriza por la referencia indirecta a la unidad monetaria

mexicana. En este caso el comercio es también un trueque de mercancias, de productos naturales, mas ahora se realiza entre miembros del mismo paraje. El comercio es formal en el sentido de que una midida determinada de frijoles valuada en 50 centavos, por ejemplo, tiene el mismo valor o puede cambiarse por un rácimo de plátanos en determinada epoca del año (Siverts 1969a:96).

CHAPTER 7

INDIAN TRADE IN GUATEMALA

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the evidence and conclusions of previous studies relating to Indian trade in Highland Guatemala, adding some details on various aspects from other works. The organization and content of the chapter follows that of Chapters 4, 5 and 6, but with less presentation of detailed data. There are six major studies upon which this chapter is based: three community-specific economic studies with a 1930s time base (McBryde 1933, Wagley 1941, and Tax 1953) and two studies covering significant portions of the highlands with time bases in the 1930s (McBryde 1947) and 1970 (C. Smith 1972). McBryde's (1947) area of study comprised the departamentos of Sololá and Totonicapán and a portion of Quezaltenango; Carol Smith has used this same area for intensive study, with a broader area around it (essentially corresponding to my area of interest in the highlands) receiving less intensive treatment (1972:16-21). Figure 26 shows the western highlands of Guatemala and Smith's areas of study. In addition to the above five studies is the comprehensive monograph on Guatemalan pottery by Reina and Hill (1978).

MEDIA OF EXCHANGE

National Moneys

In the 1970s the medium of exchange in the Guatemalan Highlands

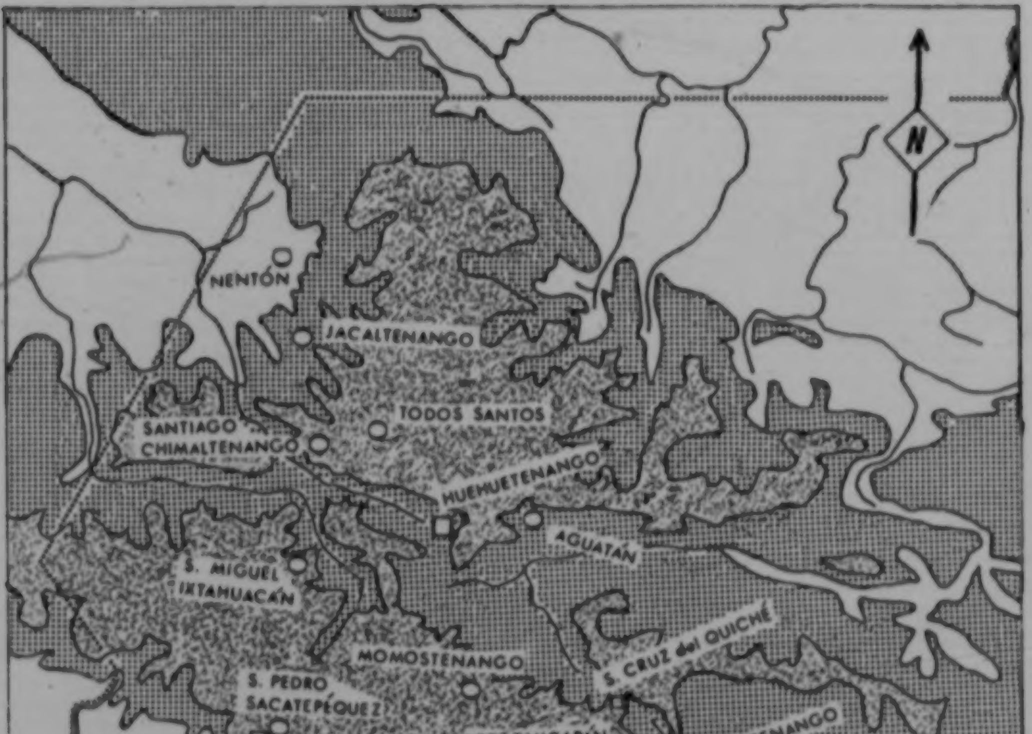

N
NENTÓN
JACALTENANGO
TODOS SANTOS
SANTIAGO CHIMALTENANGO
HUEHUETENANGO
AGUATÁN
S. MIGUEL IXTAHUACÁN
MOMOSTENANGO
S. CRUZ del QUICHÉ
S. PEDRO SACATEPÉQUEZ
TOTONICAPÁN
CHICHICASTENANGO
S. MARCOS S.
S.F. EL ALTO
QUEZALTENANGO
NAHUALÁ
SOLOLÁ
PANAJACHEL
Atitlán
CHIMALTENANGO
CHINAUTLA
GUATEMALA
CHIAPAS
GUATEMALA
RETALHULEU
MAZATENANGO
S. ATITLÁN
S. LUCAS TOLIMÁN
ESCUINTLA
Pacific Ocean

Figure 26:
Western Guatemala

is the Guatemalan national currency, consisting of a quetzal fractionable into 100 centavos. The quetzal is pegged as equivalent to the U.S. dollar. Both metal coins and paper money are in circulation.

Previous to 1912 a real currency[1] was used in Guatemala, but with various experiments in decimal coinages between 1869 and 1924.[2] Since 1924 the present quetzal system has been in effect (Yeoman 1970: 222-228). McBryde (1947:84) noted in the 1930s that prices were often quoted in terms of the former monetary units: reales and pesos.

Other Moneys

The use of ears of maize and of shelled maize as a standard of exchange in the area of the Cuchumatanes is reported for the 1930s by McBryde (1947:84) and Wagley (1941:21-22). McBryde also notes the use of salt, chile and cacao beans for "small change" in the Sololá market, and at Santo Domingo Suchitepéquez during the 1800s and later in some other localities (1933:124; 1947:84).

Barter

Barter is rarely recorded for Guatemala, with only one example--jocotes for pottery--reported by McBryde (1947:84).

TRADED GOODS, SERVICES AND COMMUNITY SPECIALIZATIONS

In contrast to Chapter 4 there will be no detailed listing or discussion of the various goods traded within Highland Guatemala, with the exception of a few of the more important goods. In general it can be said that the same kinds and range of goods are traded in Guatemala as in Chiapas--from maize to metates--and that agricultural products are to be found in the same altitudinal zonation as in Chiapas (see discussion of agriculture in Chapter 3 and Table 2).

Agricultural, Animal and Mineral Products

Maize: As in Chiapas, maize is the staple food crop, is grown by all Mayan societies, and scarcity of surplus of maize is usually a determining factor in the lives of the Highland Indians. In the highlands of the 1970s districts with maize deficits are more extensive than districts with maize surpluses, with the result that highland maize is completely consumed within the highlands and the deficit is covered by importation of maize grown in Pacific coastal areas (C. Smith 1972:77; W. Smith 1977:48). The imported maize must be purchased, hence Highland Indians who are not self-sufficient in maize must obtain cash for its purchase through one of four options: (a) work full-or part-time as a labourer on coffee, banana or cotton plantations in the Pacific coastal areas, (b) raise a cash crop, (c) become a craft specialist, or (d) become a professional trader. A similar situation obtained during the 1930s, except that shortages in the highlands were not so great, allowing some export of highland maize (McBryde 1947:23-24, 74-75).

Other Produce and Minor Animal Products: This includes not only vegetables grown in the milpa and house gardens, but also specialized vegetable growing ("truck gardening") such as that described by Tax (1953) for Panajachel in the 1930s. Sources describing these products include McBryde (1947:25-32, 39, 75-77) and C. Smith

(1972:64-94).

Cash Crops: These include wheat, grown for sale to Ladinos, coffee, sugar, chile, etc.; see McBryde (1947:27-30, 34-35, 76) for the 1930s, whereas there is no recent description of cash crops (however, see a brief note on wheat growing in C. Smith 1972:82-83).

Animals: Sheep are the major domestic animals of the Guatemalan Highlands, supplying wool for textile weaving rather than meat for eating. Other major animals are either kept mostly by Ladinos or, like pigs, are not raised in large numbers by Highland Indians (C. Smith 1972:83-85; McBryde 1947:37-39, 77-79).

Mineral Products: Carol Smith (1972) does not deal with mineral products, hence McBryde (1947:58-60, 72-74) provides the only systematic information.

Manufactures

Only two manufactures have received intensive study: (a) pottery, for which there is a very recent comprehensive study by Reina and Hill (1978), but see also McBryde (1947:54-56, 80); and (b) textiles, with a comprehensive study by O'Neale (1945) in the 1930s, see also McBryde (1947:61-67, 80-81) and C. Smith (1972:101-108). Other manufactures have been covered by McBryde (1947:56-57, 60-61, 67-71, 81).

Services

Muleteers: In the 1930s, and before, muleteers and cargadores were the only means of transporting goods in the Guatemalan Highlands.

It would seem however that Indian muleteers were not common in the 1930s as few ethnographers mention Indian use of mules (Oakes 1951: 37; Wagley 1941:45-47) and LaFarge and Byers (1931:66-67) observed that "The Indians know little about packing..." However, the situation may have varied from region to region within the highlands since Waldemar Smith (1977:105) reconstructs the pre-truck transport system in the departamento of San Marcos as being mule-based. With road construction and the expansion of trucking, mules--and cargadores--are being replaced to an increasing extent and many of the trucks are Indian-owned (C. Smith 1972:47-49).

Cargadores: Prior to trucks, the Indians' usual means of goods transport was the tump-line and cargo frame, whether used to transport their own goods or the goods of others. Although there were cargadores for hire in the 1930s (see descriptions in Bunzel 1952:30 and Lothrop 1961:3) it seems doubtful that this was a full-time occupation. I know of no recent descriptions of cargadores for hire, but it seems likely that they are still used in areas distant from the road system. Most present-day human porterage seems to be by professional traders who are carrying their own merchandise (C. Smith 1972:46-48).

Community Specializations

Indian communities in the Guatemalan Highlands have a reputation for "specialization" in particular crafts, certain crops, or in certain professions. In Chapter 4 I noted the broad usage in the anthropological literature of the term "specialization" and proposed a refinement whereby "community specialization" is divided into a minor degree, characteristic of Chiapas (see Chapter 4), and a major degree, characteristic of Guatemala. A "major degree of community specialization" means that (a) the specialization substitutes for (replaces) the basic subsistence activity, or at least has near equal importance with the basic subsistence activity (in Guatemala: milpa agriculture), hence (b) the specialization may be a full-time activity, or at least occupies a major portion of subsistence/income-oriented time; (c) the specialization may involve a local or regional monopoly of a product or activity by the community; and (d) the specialization probably will involve dependency relationships with other communities.

The interdependence of specialized communities can be exemplified by Panajachel's vegetable production specialty and dependence upon other communities for maize, other foods and most material necessities (Tax 1953:11-12). It is not my intention to list community specializations here, especially as quantitative data to confirm the degree of specialization for each community does not exist. Lists of products and their communities of origin may be found in Bunzel (1952:70-71), LaFarge (1947:28-29), McBryde (1933:114-118; 1947), and Wagley (1941:23) for the 1930s, and in C. Smith (1972:70-125) and Reina and Hill (1978) for the 1970s.

TIENDAS AND DOOR-TO-DOOR SELLING

Tiendas

As in Chiapas, every nucleated settlement larger than a hamlet can be expected to have one or more tiendas (stores). Ladinos operate most tiendas, but Indian tenderos seem to be much more common in Guatemala than in Chiapas. Carol Smith (1972:52-54) has collected evidence showing that tiendas in the Guatemalan Highlands are used primarily by Ladinos, hence remain Ladino market exchange institutions.

Door-to-Door Selling

As in Chiapas, Indian women sometimes engage in door-to-door selling of their own produce to Ladinos (Tax 1953:122). However, Wagley (1941:22) has reported door-to-door selling in Santiago Chimaltenango by Indian professional traders (mostly men) who were eager to exchange their goods for surplus maize at rates cheaper than the marketplace maize price. As Wagley states, this results in "all the necessities of life" coming "ultimately to one's own front door." Conversely, Tax (1953:122) reports traders going door-to-door in Panajachel to purchase stocks of produce.

MARKETS

Bargaining

Bunzel (1952:75) stresses that there was no bargaining over goods between Indians in the Chichicastenango market in the 1930s, but also noted that Ladinos and tourists bargained. On the other hand, Tax (1953:137)--also in the 1930s--describes bargaining between Indians in Panajachel:

> The general market custom is for the seller to name a price higher than he expects to receive, and to reduce it if necessary after an interval of haggling...Actually, some things are never bargained for: such commodities as salt, sugar, lime, bread, sweets, cold drinks, fresh meats, matches, cigarettes, cigars, etc., have fixed prices...On the other hand, fruits, vegetables, and chickens are probably always bargained for, the reason being that no two comparable items are equivalent in quality and size.

My own limited experience in the Chichicastenango market in 1973 more closely matches Tax' description than that of Bunzel; however, the Chichicastenango market of the present is heavily influenced by tourism and may not be representative of trading conduct in the highlands.

The Market System

The market system of Highland Guatemala has been studied in the 1930s by McBryde (1947) and in 1969-1970 by Carol Smith (1972). Of the two, Smith's study has the larger and more detailed data base and concentrates more specifically upon the market system. However, I do not consider Smith's study to be truly definitive since it concentrates upon markets as "economic" institutions and by-passes the social character of the marketplace; in other words, in an ethnographic setting Smith conducts a traditional economic study rather than an anthropological one. Furthermore, her data collection concentrates on the vendor--to the general exclusion of the consumer--hence becomes lopsided in its treatment of exchange and fails to address itself to some important questions regarding Indian trade (for instance, the role of internal exchange in supplying needed goods within communities). Both of the previous analyses are described below, preceded by a general description of markets and the market system which includes information from other sources.

Marketplaces: In 1970 Carol Smith records the presence of 204 marketplaces in the western Guatemalan Highlands, but notes that while nucleated towns have marketplaces "more than half of the major marketplaces are located at sites which could hardly be called towns at all" (1972:50, 54); in other words, many marketplaces are located in the ceremonial centres of "vacant towns" (See Chapter 3). Interestingly, there are also many hamlet marketplaces--particularly in the Cuchumatanes area (C. Smith 1972:401-403).

The traditional location of the market is in the plaza of a town or ceremonial centre. McBryde (1947:83) notes that in many of the large towns the market has been shifted to a nearby location, leaving the plaza free to be turned into a small park.[3] A further development in large towns is to build a roofed building to house the market, as has been done in Sololá (personal observation) since the time McBryde described that marketplace. Oakes (1951:209) describes a thatched roof over the marketplace in Todos Santos, a necessary feature due to the frequent cold rains there on the crest of the Cuchumatanes.

The physical layouts of several marketplaces have been described and figured as of the 1930s: Bunzel (1952:6-8, 68-69, 74) and McBryde (1947:Map 25) present descriptions and sketches of the marketplace at Chichicastenango which were still valid in most respects in 1973, adding only a growth in volume of trade and a ready availability of Ladino material goods (personal observation; see also Gruhn 1973:244). Similarly, McBryde describes and sketches the Sololá marketplace (1933:104, 118, 128-129; 1947:83, 105-119, and Map 22) and the Quezaltenango marketplace (1947:126-127, Map 24). The Chichicastenango marketplace was and is in the plaza, with vendors arranged in lines paralleling the sides of the square and, at present, spilling out along the streets which converge on the plaza. While there is a tendency for vendors of particular products to be located in a certain area, this is not always true due to a countervailing tendency by traders from the same town to sit together. In the 1930s the Sololá market was in an open air location near the plaza (now--1973--it is inside a roofed building), but otherwise followed the description of the Chichicastenango market. The Quezaltenango marketplace is much larger and more formal in organization, consisting mostly of rows of selling booths. I will not attempt to generalize to the rest of the Guatemalan Highlands on the basis of only these three markets. A market tax is collected at both Chichicastenango and Sololá, and at most other markets according to McBryde (1947:84).[4]

As in Chiapas, a multiplicity of goods is sold in a Guatemalan market: maize, garden produce, lowland fruit, eggs, chickens, pigs, sheep, pottery, textiles, clothing, manos and metates, rope, sundries, etc. Local women sell prepared food and drink; chicha and aguardiente are also sold, leading to late afternoon and evening drunkeness on the part of some market-goers.

Periodicity: In 1970 the 203 markets using the 7-day Christian week had the following periodicities: 127 (62.5%) met once weekly, 56 (27.5%) met twice weekly, 6 (3%) met thrice weekly, and 14 (7%) met daily (based on figures given in C. Smith 1972:308 and Map 11). Sunday was a market day for over 50% of these marketplaces, while Monday and Saturday were the least frequent as market days. The most common of the two-day schedules was Sunday/Thursday (Chichicastenango, for example), with Friday/Tuesday being the next most common (C. Smith 1972:309). One day (the first in the pairs noted above) is the major market day, the other is a minor day. This is true also of the daily markets which have a major (and sometimes a secondary) market day which is greater in volume than the other days of the week (C. Smith 1972:307-308). The situation was essentially the same in the 1930s (McBryde 1947:83), except that there seem to have been several markets in the Cuchumatanes area which operated according to a 5-day cycle tied to the Maya calendar--only one (San Sebastian Coatán) still maintaining that cycle in 1970 (C. Smith 1972:307).

In relationship to other markets, the schedule of a large marketplace tends not to conflict with those of the smaller marketplaces surrounding it--at least for its major market day, whereas small adjacent marketplaces frequently do have conflicts (C. Smith 1972:311-317). Even among these latter, however, there is often some staggering of market days, hence local clusters of markets fit the "solar-system" pattern of market scheduling known from elsewhere in Mesoamerica (Warner 1976). The staggering of schedules between a large market and surrounding minor markets which lie on trade routes seems to be set by the walking schedules of professional traders, as Tax (1946:27) describes for the schedule of San Lucas Tolimán, which lies south across Lake Atitlán from the major market of Sololá:

> Merchants [traveling] from the North to the South are generally in Sololá on Friday (or many, to go back further, in Chichicastenango or Tecpán on Thursday), and cross the lake on Saturday morning. Some of them stop in San Lucas to sell things for a short time on Saturday and then go down to the Coast for Sunday and Monday - selling there in the Sunday markets and at the various fincas. They get back to San Lucas on Tuesday, and then most of them stop and set up shop for the day. Since there are the most merchants here on Tuesday, it has become the most important market day, and Indians from the other towns, and the local ones too, come to buy and sell.

Fiesta Markets: As in Chiapas, fiesta markets are rarely described, the best description of which I am aware being that by Wagley (1949:107-108) of the Fiesta de Santiago market at Santiago Chimaltenango. What evidence I can accumulate supports McBryde's statement that fiesta markets usually are attended by larger groups of both vendors and buyers than regular markets (1947:84), and that communities which have no regular market will have one during a fiesta.[5]

Visitation Spheres: I have not attempted to delineate visitation spheres for specific markets. In general each marketplace seems to have three visitation spheres, of increasing size: (1) that of a minor market day, (2) that of the major market day (C. Smith 1972:309), and (3) that of a fiesta market (as noted above). This is comparable to the situation in Chiapas (see Chapter 5) where the visitation sphere for a fiesta market is greater than that for a regular market day.

Social Character of Guatemalan Markets: Indians do not go to market solely to effect exchanges of material goods: there are also important social reasons for the market day gathering. For Chichicastenango, Bunzel (1952:68) states:

> ...among people where each family lives in jealous isolation on its own farm, suspicious of neighbors and hostile to relatives, the market is the answer to the hunger for social life. Here the young man surveys the matrimonial prospects, and the girl has her suitor pointed out to her and privately makes up her mind. Here there [is]...the easy sociability of the estanco where one may drink and expand among strangers, without fear of being betrayed into quarrels. For between them are no smouldering antagonisms to be fanned into flame in "the madness of chicha and aguardiente," - as between brothers.

The social tensions noted by Bunzel are those of a land-poor community where disputes over property alienate one from neighbours and relatives alike. Communities with fewer internal tensions also use the market for social purposes as, for Panajachel, Tax (1953:125) notes that "Needless to say, selling in the market has its social and pleasurable aspects" and also presents what may be an extreme example from the daily market of Santiago Atitlán (Tax 1946:29-30):

> They [Atiteca women] are there for business, but it is really a social occasion for them as well; they do all the visiting they wish. Men, on the otherhand, use the plaza only for business...
>
> As far as women are concerned, therefore, there is considerable community intercourse; people from other towns recognize this as a peculiarity, and don't like the Atitecas because "they are *bravas* [bold], and why shouldn't they be since they run around the streets all day and talk?"

The above examples are of Indians frequenting the markets of their own communities, but they also visit markets in other communities for social purposes: "The people of [Santiago] Chimaltenango go to the Sunday market at San Pedro [Necta] more for the gaiety of the occasion and more to see the large crowds than for any actual need to barter or buy commodities" (Wagley 1941:22). During the Fiesta de Santiago at S. Chimaltenango, with its accompanying market, Wagley (1949:107) notes Indians from other communities who "came with a few things to sell but mainly just 'to watch' the fiesta "; I suggest that, as in Chiapas, these "few things to sell" are probably the means of acquiring the money necessary to buy prepared food sold by the locals and drinks at the *estancos*.

McBryde's Analysis of the Market System

McBryde's (1947:82) analysis is primarily concerned with delineating the "factors favoring a strongly developed market place" in the Guatemalan Highlands. He concludes that there are three:

> (1) a high population density in the tributary area, (2) situation on major trade routes, and (3) an intermediary location between contrasted areas of production. Though no single market depends solely on any one of these factors. . . All three factors contribute somewhat to every important market.

Regarding his first factor he notes the coincidence of large marketplaces and dense populations in the Guatemalan Highlands; concerning his second factor he notes the "alinement of market towns along natural trade routes"; and for his third factor he notes:

> The greatest single basis for the contrast between producing regions is the sharp altitudinal difference between Highlands and Lowlands. The products of both are found in variety and abundance in all plazas.

In his study's conclusions, he adds the agricultural and craft community specializations into the picture:

> With agriculture and crafts extremely specialized and diversified from place to place, owing largely to great local environmental and traditional differences close together, complementary and mutually dependent economic regions have developed in juxtaposition. This has stimulated trade, so that markets play a major role in the economic and social life of most of the larger communities (McBryde 1947: 129-130).

Smith's Analysis of the Market System

Carol Smith's (1972) analysis is an explicit attempt to apply formal central-place economic theory to the market system of the western Guatemalan Highlands. She has managed to construct a complex central-place model to fit the highland market system, but only after considerable modification of the assumptions and procedures of central-place theory. It became clear in the course of her analysis that central-place theory cannot accurately model the empirical situation without extensive correction from a large body of ethnographic and historical information. From this demonstration I conclude that while central-place theory may be useful in organizing data, it has little heuristic or explanatory value.

Smith's formal results consist of modified central-place models which are of interest mainly to central-place theorists; most of her anthropological conclusions simply confirm the findings of previous investigators, hence the chief value of her study for anthropologists lies in the presentation of new data. Smith's data base is a large body of observations on the highland market system in 1969-1970, consisting of marketplace and tienda censuses (enumerating vendors/tiendas and describing their goods) and marketplace questionnaires (for describing salient features of marketplaces and their communities). This mass of data is not included in Smith's study, thus access to it is only through Smith's analyses, tables, maps, etc. Space does not permit detailed discussion of Smith's results, but some of the most important are given below.

Marketplace Types: Based on a quantitative measure of vendors for each marketplace, Smith establishes a five-level quantitative hierarchy of marketplaces (1972:159-206). Adding other salient characteristics to this hierarchy, Smith defines six marketplace types for western Guatemala (1972:206-263):

(A) Bulking Marketplaces: frequented by greater than 50% propios, mostly wholesalers (for a definition of the terms propio, regatón and comerciante see the discussion on Traders, below). In these marketplaces the principle activity is the wholesaling of community-produced goods to traders, who then transport them to larger marketplaces in the Highlands, to Guatemala City, or to the Pacific coast. Eighteen major and twenty minor marketplaces fall into this type, examples being Nahualá, Almolonga, Olintepeque and San Antonio Ilotenango.

(B) Undifferentiated Marketplaces: frequented by greater than 50% propios, mostly retailers. In these marketplaces the principle activity is the retailing of community produce or crafts in small lots directly to consumers. All 54 marketplaces in this type are small and located in the Highlands. An example is San Sebantian Coatán.

(C) Terminal-"Redistributive" Marketplaces:[6] frequented by greater than 50% regatones, mostly wholesalers. In these marketplaces the principle activity is the wholesaling of Highland products to the Ladino retailers of smaller marketplaces. All eight marketplaces in this type are large Ladino provisioning centres of the Pacific coastal area, such as Mazatenango.

(D) Terminal Marketplaces: frequented by greater than 50% regatones, mostly retailers. In these marketplaces the principle activity is the retail of goods directly to consumers. The 35 marketplaces in this type are all small and almost all are in areas of predominantly Ladino population, such as San Carlos Sijá.

(E) Balanced "Redistributive" Marketplaces: frequented by roughly equal numbers of propios and regatones, plus a large number of comerciantes. These marketplaces are characteristic of all 16 major Highland towns and cities, and combine the functions of types A, B, C and D. Examples are Santa Cruz del Quiché, Totonicapán, and Sololá.

(F) Wholesale Centre: frequented by greater than 50% comerciantes. This type was created for San Francisco El Alto, the only member. Its principle activity is the selling and buying of goods in wholesale lots by comerciantes for eventual transport to other marketplaces.

Explicit in Smith's marketplace typology is a hierarchical flow of goods (see Figure 27). While I can accept Smith's marketplace typology and hierarchical flow of goods as well demonstrated, I cannot accept some of Smith's general conclusions on the marketing system:

> While many peasants are exchanging their goods [via cash] for goods produced by other peasants, this does not predominate at the local level; in

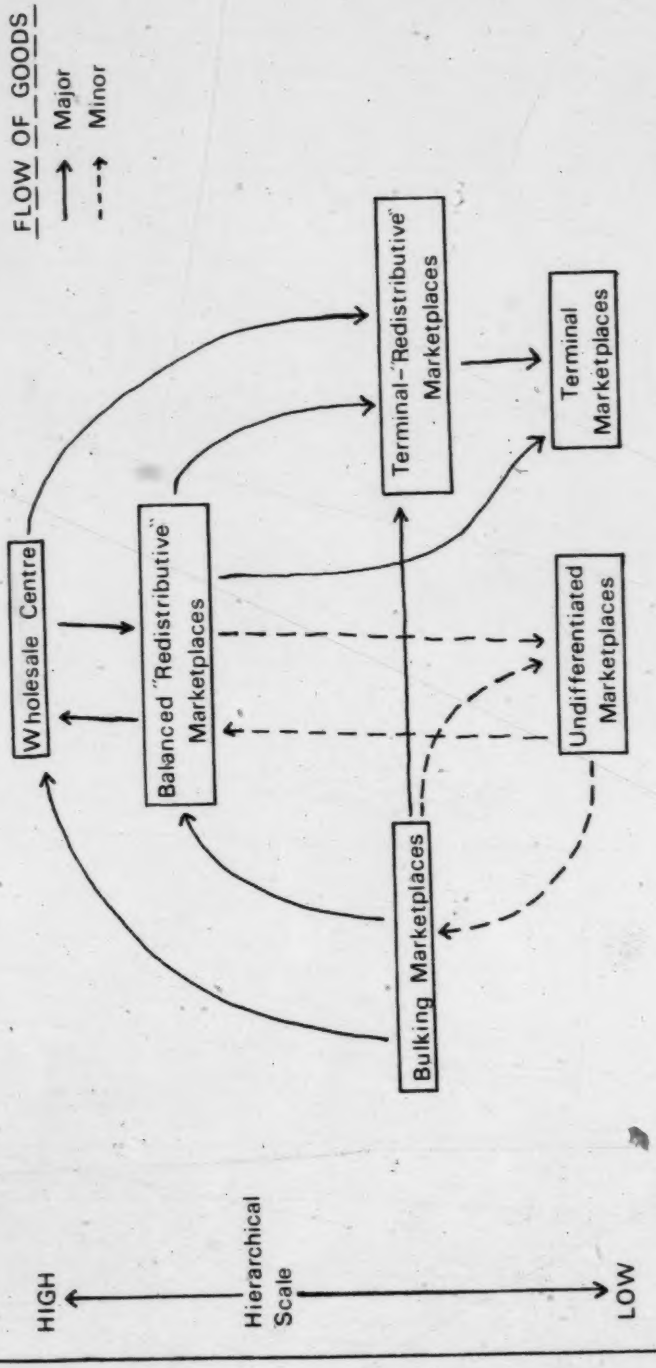

FLOW OF GOODS
Major
Minor
Wholesale Centre
Balanced "Redistributive" Marketplaces
Terminal-"Redistributive" Marketplaces
Terminal Marketplaces
Undifferentiated Marketplaces
Bulking Marketplaces
HIGH
Hierarchical Scale
LOW

FIGURE 27: MARKETPLACE TYPES & FLOW OF GOODS (C. Smith 1972)

> the majority of cases, peasant-produced goods are exchanged [via cash] for urban, plantation, or nationally-imported goods (C. Smith 1972: 262).[7]

My objection is that I cannot see any empirical basis for this claim in Smith's work or that of any other investigator. To validate the claim Smith would need consumer-purchase records for Indian-made versus Ladino-made goods (the "urban, plantation, or nationally-imported goods"), and she apparently does not have such records. The closest to such are the buying questionnaires used to separate tienda purchases from marketplace purchases (1972:53): there is no clear indication of what proportions of goods on the questionnaires are Indian-made versus Ladino-made, but her discussion--where she states that 45% of the items were bought by Indians in the marketplaces (where most goods are Indian-produced) and a further 35% "were either home-grown, obtained in some other way, or simply never used"--suggests that it is unlikely that "the majority" of purchases could be of Ladino-made items.

This objection carries over to Smith's next statement:

> We interpret this [a direct reference to the quotation cited above] to mean that in general the high degree of local specialization in western Guatemala does not occur to facilitate horizontal exchanges, but rather regional exchanges, which economically integrate ecological zones and the rural-urban sectors (C. Smith 1972:262-263).

The wording of this statement is unfortunately rather ambiguous: "local specialization" can be read as meaning "local specialization in marketplace function" or as "local specialization in crop and craft production." If the intended meaning is the first, then I have no quarrel with it. However, from the context in which the statement appears it seems that the latter meaning is that intended, in which case I reply that without consumer-purchase documentation of a predominantly Indian-to-Ladino rather than Indian-to-Indian flow of specialty goods one cannot assume that other ethnographers are wrong when they state that there is "horizontal exchange" between Indian communities based in a dependency upon each other's specialty production (e.g., Tax 1952:45-52).[8]

Spatial Distribution of Marketplaces: Smith's analysis of marketplace spatial distribution is essentially an attempt to use central-place theory to build a spatial model of marketplaces in western Guatemala. After considerable tinkering with the model she succeeds in making it fit the empirical evidence (C. Smith 1972:264-307). Her result is an empirical deviation from the usual central-place models (and one which is probably only applicable to western Guatemala); while this will be of interest to economic theorists, it supplies little insight on the market system for anthropologists--other than to demonstrate the inability of central-place theory to adequately describe an ethnographic situation without considerable empirical correction.[9]

Market Day Scheduling: Smith's analysis of market day scheduling concentrates on testing hypotheses on scheduling conflicts derived from the economic literature to see which describe the Guatemalan situation (C. Smith 1972:307-322). A scheduling "conflict" between two markets is defined as both markets meeting on the same day. Using information on conflicts Smith defines two scheduling regions within the highlands: (1) a central region (essentially the departamentos of Quezaltenango, Totonicapán, Sololá, Chimaltenango, and San Marcos, plus the southern portions of Huehuetenango and El Quiché), where the schedules of major marketplaces do not conflict with those of surrounding minor marketplaces, but where the schedules of these minor marketplaces conflict with each other; and (2) peripheral regions (the Pacific coastal area, and the Cuchumatanes area) where most marketplace schedules conflict due to a tendency for Sunday market days (or, where there is more than one market day, for the major day to be on Sunday). Smith interprets the scheduling pattern of the central region as reflecting a hierarchical order of marketplaces, where there is an avoidance of scheduling conflicts between major and minor centres--intended to favour the movement of traders between them. This is, essentially, a restatement of the "solar-system" pattern of market periodicity which has previously been noted by other investigators. Regarding the peripheral regions, Smith states: "The tendency to choose Sundays as market day overrides considerations of local trade articulation between township-center marketplaces... [and] the peripheral areas are generally heavily serviced by long-distance traders from the central region rather than local traders..." (1972:317-318).

TRADERS

Classification of Traders

My use of the term "trader" has already been defined in Chapter 5 (q.v.), but I wish to re-stress here that the role of "trader" is context dependent and may be filled by anyone who has something to sell. However, it is possible to separate traders into categories according to certain characteristics; Table 6 shows the terminology for these categories used in this study in contrast with that used by other investigators in Guatemala and Oaxaca. The terms propio, regatón and comerciante are Spanish terms of varying local use. Essentially, a producer-trader (propio) is a farmer or craftsman who sells his own products; a professional trader (comerciante) buys products in one marketplace and transports them to one or more other marketplaces in order to sell them; while a regatón is a middleman who uses a stall in a marketplace and buys his stock from the producer-trader and/or the professional trader. These descriptions are expanded below, and Figure 28 shows the flow of commodities between producers, traders and consumers.

Indian Producer-Traders

As in Chiapas, many Guatemalan Indians derive their basic subsistence from the milpa and become traders only when selling small amounts of milpa or garden produce to Ladinos or foreign Indians. Due to the high degree of specialization in Highland

TABLE 6

TERMINOLOGY FOR TRADERS

This study (Guatemala)	C. Smith 1972:217-219 (Guatemala)	Reina & Hill 1978:207-219 (Guatemala)	Beals 1975:117-119 (Oaxaca)
producer-trader	propio	vendor	propio
regatón, middleman	resgatón *	regatón	regatón locatario
professional trader, comerciante	comerciante	comerciante	regatón

* See chapter note 10

Guatemala there are also large numbers of Indians who derive a cash income by producing and selling specialty crops or crafts, which cash is then used to purchase maize and various material goods--many produced by foreign Indians or Ladinos. Most of the selling and buying of the producer-trader is done in the marketplaces, although some buying is done at tiendas, and some selling of specialty goods may occur at the home of the producer-trader.

Sometimes producers of craft items, such as pottery, will produce them encargo (on standing order) for a particular comerciante or regatón; these items are then purchased wholesale (Reina & Hill 1978:209).

The term producer-trader (or propio) actually extends beyond

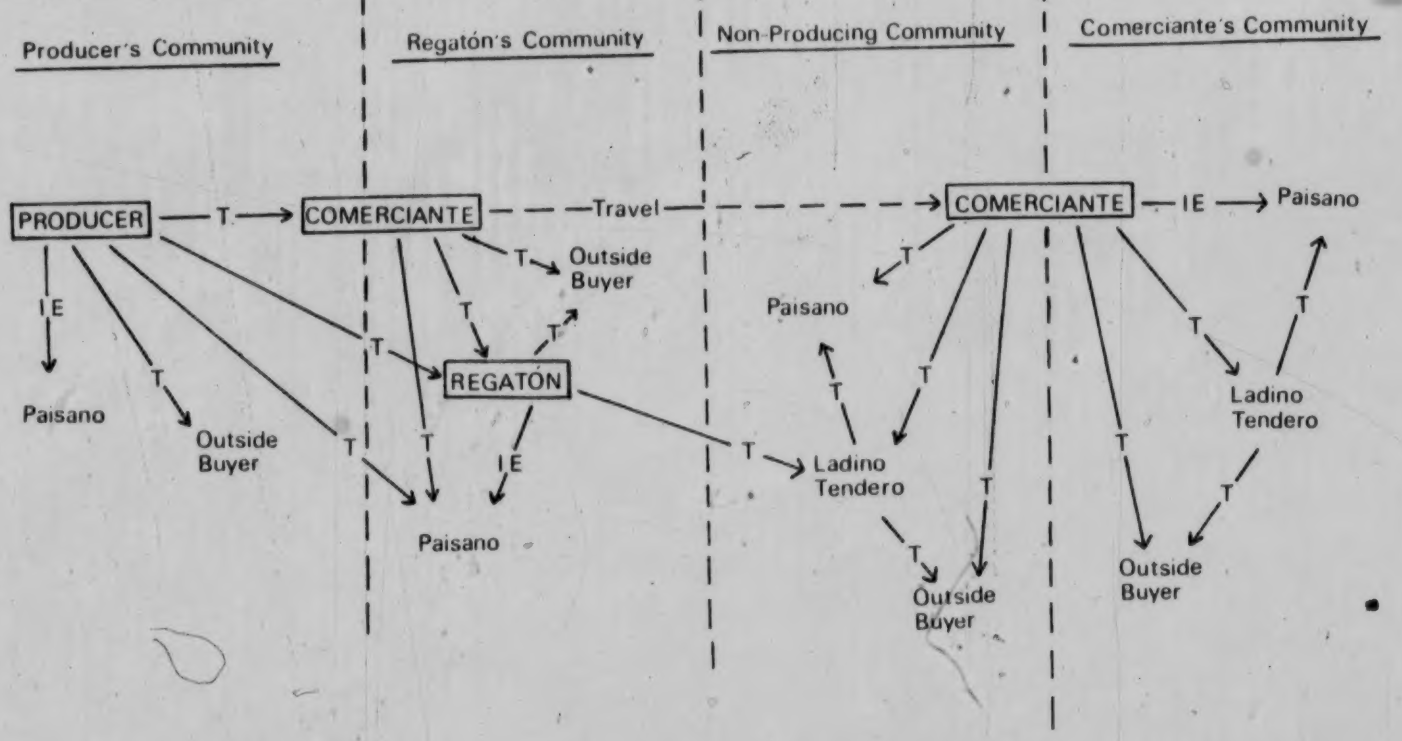

Producer's Community
Regatón's Community
Non-Producing Community
Comerciante's Community
PRODUCER
T
COMERCIANTE
Travel
COMERCIANTE
IE
Paisano
IE
T
Paisano
Outside Buyer
REGATÓN
Outside Buyer
Paisano
Ladino Tendero
Outside Buyer
Ladino Tendero
Outside Buyer
IE = Internal Exchange
T = Trade

FIGURE 28: CHART OF COMMODITY FLOW

the individual craftsman or farmer to include members of his/her household who sell his/her products (C. Smith 1972:217; Beals 1975: 118; Reina & Hill 1978:207). Tax (1946:29; 1953:123, 125) records a sexual division of labour in selling within the producer-trader households of Panajachel and Santiago Atitlán: only women of the household sell in the community's market, and while women may also visit a few nearby marketplaces, selling outside the community is done mostly by the men. In Panajachel, at least, there seem to have been strong sanctions against a man selling in his own marketplace. I suspect this sexual division of labour is fairly general in the Guatemalan Highlands since LaFarge & Byers (1931:64) record it in Jacaltenango in the Cuchumatanes, far distant from Lake Atitlán. This division of labour means that in areas with conflicting market scheduling (as in the Cuchumatanes) a household can sell in two or more mark[illegible] simultaneously: the women in their own marketplace, the men in one or more neighbouring marketplaces.

Indian Regatones

The regatón buys goods wholesale from the producer-trader or from a comerciante and sells them retail to consumers at a stall in the marketplace. A regatón may also sell goods in small wholesale lots to tenderos or regatones from smaller market centres.

Indian Professional Traders

The professional traders (comerciantes) earn a cash income through the purchase of goods from producer-traders and/or regatones, transporting these goods to another marketplace or series of marketplaces where they sell the goods retail or in wholesale lots. This definition holds for the comerciantes of both the 1930s/1940s and the 1970s, but otherwise differences are great enough between the two periods to require chronological separation in the following discussion.

Comerciantes in the 1930s/1940s: Comerciantes of this period traveled on foot carrying loads by tump-strap plus cargo net or cargo frame; if mules were used, they also packed goods. At the time, comerciantes were the supply system of the Guatemalan Highlands. Certain communities were noted for their professional traders: Chichicastenango, Momostenango, San Pedro Sacatepéquez, Santiago Atitlán, Totonicapán, Quezaltenango, Sololá, Concepción Tutuapa and probably others.[11] Especially prominent, in terms of recorded numbers or distances and areas covered, were the Maxeños (natives of Santo Tomás Chichicastenango), Momostecos and Totonicapeños. These and other traders were noted for long-distance circuits through the highlands (for examples see Table 7).

While some communities' comerciantes of the period--especially those with short-distance circuits--did tend to specialize in certain commodities, many of the long-distance professional traders would traffic in a great variety of goods; for example, McBryde (1933:117) describes Maxeño comerciantes' imports from the Pacific lowlands as "salt, spices, chile, rice, coffee, cacao, dried shrimp, achiote (red seed of the arnotto tree, used for coloring foods), peanuts, plantains,

TABLE 7

PROFESSIONAL TRADERS' CIRCUITS: EXAMPLES FROM THE 1930s & 1940s

Traders & Circuits	Source
Maxeños	
(A) Chichicastenango → Santa Lucía de la Laguna → Santo Tomás la Unión → Mazatenango, and return.	Bunzel (1952:72)
(B) Chichacastenango → Sololá → San Lucas Tolimán → Pacific Lowland Markets and *fincas*, and return.	Tax (1946:27)
Totonicapeños	
(A) Totonicapán → Sololá → Guatemala City, and return.	McBryde (1933:125)
(B) Totonicapán → Sololá → return to Totonicapán → → Tapachula (Chiapas) → return to Totonicapán & Sololá.	McBryde (1933: 125-126)
Momostecos	
(A) Momostenango → → Guatemala City → → Pacific Lowlands → return, stopping at all major markets *en route*.	McBryde (1933:126)
Pedranos	
(A) San Pedro Sacatepéquez → Quezaltenango, and return.	W. Smith (1977:105)
Comerciantes of Concepción Tutuapa	W. Smith (1977:47), Wagley (1941:22, 24)
(A) Concepción Tutuapa → Cuilco Basin → Santiago Chimaltenango.	

bread, and other foodstuffs, often selling along with them trinkets, drygoods, and hardware articles," to which should be added a large variety of highland products handled by these same merchants. On the other hand, for each individual trip there was a tendency to take a large load of one kind of item, which might be sold wholesale at the destination (Bunzel 1952:73), although in some town and rural areas the comerciante would peddle from door-to-door (Wagley 1941:22; C. Smith 1972:124). Tax (1953:128) describes an important institution for professional traders, the recomendado:

> A particular convenience to merchants is the custom by which they can leave property recomendado in the houses and stores of the towns that they visit. This means that a merchant who is unable to sell his goods one day can, without charge, leave it with some acquaintance and return for it the next day or, if nonperishable, the next week.

Redfield (1939:53-54) also describes the recomendado and adds as well the institution of posada (a night's lodging) which might be requested by a comerciante far from home. Furthermore, some professional traders apparently contracted marriages in towns on their regular trade circuits: "One [Maxeño professional trader] told me that he & others have or have had 2nd wives in S. Lucas [Tolimán] & other places on the road; this is an advantage" (Tax 1946:217).

Comerciantes in the 1970s: The main description of modern Indian professional traders is derived from Carol Smith's study, and it appears that the same communities as in the 1930s are supplying the majority of professional traders (1972:108-125). An important development since the 1930s is that some trading communities have become the producers as well as distributors of certain products: for example the Sololatecos have taken over specialty production of vegetables and the communities of Totonicapán, San Cristóbal Totonicapán, and Salcajá have taken up the production of skirt material (C. Smith 1972: 88-94, 101-108).

Another development seems to be an increase in specialization in the distribution of a specific commodity by a specific community's comerciantes, i.e., professional traders from a single community tend now to specialize in distributing a narrower range of products. It is difficult to be sure how strong this development is because Smith (a) splits up her data by commodity groupings rather than by trading community, (b) does not always identify the comerciantes handling particular commodity groupings, and (c) does not clearly identify truckers handling some commodity groupings by community or ethnic group (C. Smith 1972:70-133). Since there is no direct access to her raw data, these uncertainties cannot be cleared up.

Finally, it is clear that the walking comerciante is still important, although in the process of converting into a truck-borne professional trader, as described by C. Smith and other investigators (Reina & Hill 1978:215; W. Smith 1977:106).

EFFECTS OF INTERNAL EXCHANGE INSTITUTIONS

The cargo system seems to have little effect on trade in Guatemala; certain aspects of it have been covered in the discussion on Chiapas cargo systems in Chapter 6 (q.v.). Compadrazgo seems to be of even less importance in Guatemala than in Chiapas--both generally and in reference to trade. It should be noted that the institutions of recomendado and posada substitute in Guatemala for the main trade-linked aspects of compadrazgo in Chiapas.

In Guatemala, as in Chiapas, ethnographers frequently go into detail on the identity of vendors in marketplaces, but seldom record the identities of their customers. No doubt there is some selling to paisanos (members of one's own community) in every market, as seems implicit in discussions by McBryde (1947:83) and C. Smith (1972:65-69), but the amount of internal market exchange is impossible to gauge even for one market, much less the study region as a whole due to the lack of consumer purchasing data. Thus, internal circulation of goods remains an almost unknown quantity among the forms of exchange in Guatemala and its effect is difficult to assess.

AGENT/MOVEMENT/SPACE RELATIONSHIPS IN GUATEMALAN INDIAN TRADE

This brief analytical list of agent/movement/space relationships is based on the "typology" presented in Chapter 1. The list only includes exemplary exchanges in which Indians are directly involved:

Non-Trade

a) Internal Exchange: Paisanos exchange with each other.

Two-Party Trading

a) Visiting Trade: Chimalteco buys from Pedrano at San Pedro Necta Market.

b) Visiting Agent Trade: Maxeño comerciante sends an agent to Cobán to buy rope for him (Bunzel 1952:73-74).

Central Place Trading

a) Central Place Middleman: Producer sells to regatón, who sells to an outside buyer.

b) Central Marketplace: Panajacheleña sells onions to Ladina in Sololá marketplace, then buys metate from Nahualeño.

Multiple-Party Trading

a) Visiting Middleman: Maxeño comerciante sells Pacific lowlands salt to Luqueros (from San Lucas Tolimán).

b) Resident Middleman: Ladino tendero buys from comerciante, sells to paisanos.

c) Trading Chain: Chinautla potter sells to regatón in Guatemala City, who sells the pottery to Totonicapeño comerciante, who sells it in Sololá.

As in Chiapas, an individual may pass quickly from one exchange relationship to another within a marketplace, hence most--if not all--of the above relationships will be expressed during the course of a single market day. In contrast to Chiapas, Indians can and do act as the agents in most or all of these relationships.

HIGHLAND GUATEMALA ECONOMIC HISTORY

The following brief historical sketch is derived from the reconstruction presented by Carol Smith (1972:351-370). It should be noted that Smith's Period I is more reconstruction than it is history: "Since the information on actual trade patterns in the earliest period is very limited, we can only suggest the most likely pattern of development from our knowledge of the present situation" (C. Smith 1972: 351); in Chapter 9 I shall suggest an alternative reconstruction.

Period I (ca. A. D. 1524-1850)

Following the Spanish Conquest in 1524, regional administrative centres for western Guatemala were established at Quezaltenango and Totonicapán, with smaller administrative subcentres at El Quiché, Huehuetenango and other points--usually near original Indian political centres. These centres developed into the Ladino towns and cities of the present day. (It will be noted that the location of these centres seems to have been controlled by demographic and political considerations rather than economic ones). By the end of Period I, Smith postulates that the following economic developments had occurred: (a) the administrative centres had developed large marketplaces to provision the Ladino population, (b) the Indians provisioned themselves through community marketplaces, (c) Indians produced the staple foodstuffs and brought them into the Ladino marketplaces, (d) Ladinos were active in and dominated craft-production and trading, with long-distance Ladino peddlers being the only professional traders (Smith sees this as analogous to the present-day situation in Chiapas), and (e) population increases (especially in the Quezaltenango/Totonicapán "central area") on a limited land base had begun to push some Indian communities towards specialty craft and crop production. Thus, Smith sees a dual market system already present by the early 1800s:

one set of marketplaces for Ladinos, another for Indians, and Indian producer-traders and Ladino professional traders moving goods between the two systems.

Period II (ca. A.D. 1850-1944)

This is the period of the rise of the coffee finca which dominates the Guatemalan economy. Smith sees the following developments: (a) the creation of labour and land laws to facilitate expansion of the fincas, with the land laws exacerbating land shortage among the Indians--thus contributing to the subsistence crisis--and the labour laws forcing Indian labour on the fincas for cash remuneration (however inadequate); (b) continuing population increase among the Indians, which together with land laws created a group of Indians unable to grow subsistence crops for themselves; (c) a movement of former Ladino craftsmen and traders into lowland Ladino centres, attracted by entrepreneurial opportunities surrounding the growth of the coffee fincas--with a resulting abandonment of craft production and trading by Ladinos in the Highlands; (d) a set of alternatives for Indians caught in the subsistence crisis: become finca labourers or become production or trading specialists; (e) "central area" Indian communities, having previously begun specializing, had a competitive advantage in moving into production and trading specializations, thus came to dominate these; (f) Indian communities in "peripheral areas" were left with finca labour as their only alternative; and (g) the dual market system was maintained, but with the addition of rural bulking marketplaces--the largest of which was San Francisco El Alto--which collected goods for provisioning Pacific coast Ladino centres and Guatemala City. Smith sees the situation of the 1930s--that described by McBryde and others--as the fully developed form of this period.

Period III (A. D. 1944 - the present)

Smith sees this period as beginning with the Arévalos reform government, because this government initiated the construction of the modern road network. It is this new transportation system which Smith considers as central to the developments of the new period: (a) since the road system was built to connect Ladino centres, the Ladino towns of the highlands increased in economic importance due to the construction of warehouses near transportation depots, (b) motorized transport begins to replace mule and foot trade, especially between highlands and lowlands, (c) continued population increase maintains the finca labour pool, and (d) specialization in craft production and distribution intensifies, as does dependence on the marketplace for staple foodstuffs.

In her discussion of Periods II and III Smith has included some commentary on social and political developments, which I have already covered in Chapter 1. She does not discuss certain elements of interest to this study, but these are--I grant--merely details in the larger scheme of events. One of these is market periodicity: it seems likely that community market days in Guatemala were mainly restricted to Sunday at the beginning of the Spanish colonial period[12] as they are today in Chiapas and are in Smith's "peripheral areas" of the Guatemalan Highlands, hence the question is why, when, where, and how did multiple market days per week and the staggering of market days (so as to reduce "conflicts") begin? At present there is no answer. Another element not dealt with by Smith is the emigration of Mam and Quiché Indians to empty lands in the Sierra Madre of Chiapas as a result of the subsistence crisis; this element is dealt with in Chapter 8.

A SUMMARY OF GUATEMALAN INDIAN TRADE

The following is a summary of Guatemalan Indian Trade as described in this chapter, with some added interpretive comment.

Trade in the Guatemalan Highlands appears to be limited to market exchange relationships. Unfortunately, little is specifically known about the internal circulation of goods within communities and, consequently, how such internal exchanges may be affecting trade.

The goods traded between Indians are milpa produce--particularly maize, mineral and animal products, specialty crafts, and the Ladino-made sundries and hardware handled by professional traders. Milpa and garden produce, cash crops, and --presumably--some crafts are traded to Ladinos. From Ladinos are purchased lowland maize, sundries, hardware, and clothing. Among the Maya communities of the Guatemalan Highlands there is a high degree of craft and cash crop production specialization.

Tiendas (shops) are typically Ladino market exchange institutions run by and patronized by Ladinos, while the marketplace is typically Indian. Marketplaces--except in the Cuchumatanes--tend to meet more than one day per week, and the major market days of the large markets and surrounding smaller markets are staggered through the week to produce "solar-system" clusters of marketplaces throughout the highlands. Fiesta markets are poorly described for Guatemala, but appear to be augmented versions of the major market day. The visitation sphere of a market typically has three sizes: smallest for a minor market day, larger for a major market day, and largest for a fiesta market. As in Chiapas, the social aspects of the marketplace have received little attention although there is sufficient data to indicate that they are important. Likewise, vendors have received more attention than consumers, which is one reason why we know so little about internal goods circulation. Carol Smith (1972) suggests that the markets are arranged in a dual system--one portion serving Indians, the other serving Ladinos--and that these are arranged in a quantitative (smaller to larger) hierarchy.

Indian traders in the Guatemalan Highlands may be divided into three groups: the producer-traders, regatones (middlemen), and professional traders. Numerically, at least, Indians seem to dominate trade; there are many Indian professional traders who come from many communities, but with some communities "specializing" in trading. Professional traders often have regular long-distance circuits and there is a good development of storage and lodging institutions which favour this traffic. The system of staggered market days is also highly favourable to movement of professional traders. Traders' movement schedules are keyed to the major market days of large markets on their routes, hence--while pursuing their schedules--traders tend to arrive regularly on particular days in the smaller markets. This in turn promotes the importance of those days in the smaller centres. Herein may lie the evolutionary "mechanism" for producing marketplace "solar-systems."

Developmental trends in Indian trade of the Guatemalan Highlands seem to be as follows. McBryde (1947) has suggested that highland/lowland ecological differences and juxtaposition act to stimulate trade between the two areas. This proposition will be discussed further in Chapter 9, but at present we may assume that there would always be some highland/lowland exchange, however structured institutionally. A separate, major trend within the highlands has been the continual population increase on a limited land base. In recent times this has led to a subsistence crisis which has been met through (a) emigration, (b) wage labour, and (c) production specialization. With communities specializing in craft and crop production, and wage earners depending more on marketplace purchasing of necessities, there apparently has been a necessary increase in trade in specialties between the communities. To nearby communities this could be done by the producer-traders, but further distribution is accomplished by the professionals.

It is easy to see how a growth cycle could start, where initial success in specializing (into wage earners, production specialists, and trade specialists) could intensify the specialization process. This seems to account for the narrowing focus of specialization in production and/or distribution of particular goods by particular communities between the 1930s and 1970s. In other words, there is a positive feedback relationship between labour, production and distribution specializations which intensifies these specializations, and continuing population growth assures that the intensification is quantitative as well as qualitative.

As a whole, I see the Guatemalan Highlands (plus the adjacent lowlands) as a region of interdependent communities, whose material dependence upon each other has increased and become clearer during the last forty years. Sanders and Price (1968:189) use the term "symbiotic region" to describe such areas of intense mutual dependence, one which I consider quite apt to characterize western Guatemala.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

[1] In the Guatemalan real system 8 reales = 1 peso, and coins were issued in the following denominations: 1/4, 1/2, 1, 2, and 4 reales (copper-nickel, silver and gold) and 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 16 and 20 pesos (silver and gold).

[2] A system of 100 centimos = 1 peso was issued in 1869-1870 (silver and gold coins). Later systems were 100 centavos = 1 peso (bronze and silver coins) issued irregularly until 1924 when the peso was renamed the quetzal.

[3] The marketplace in Guatemala continues to be called the "plaza" even when held in a different location. Similarly, a market day is called día de plaza.

[4] McBryde specifically mentions market taxes for San Juan Ostuncalco, Chicacao and Panajachel, this last also being noted by Tax (1953:16). In the 1930s Tax (1946:29) specifically notes the lack of a market tax at Santiago Atitlán.

[5] Brief mentions of other fiesta markets are to be found in these sources: Chichicastenango (Bunzel 1952:197, 201, 209, 214, 215, 225), Todos Santos (Oakes 1951:209), Sololá and Panajachel (Tax 1953:125), Fiesta de Corpus Cristi in Santiago Chimaltenango (Wagley 1949:120), and various of the communities around Lake Atitlán (Tax 1946:21, 30, 34).

[6] Smith's use of the term "redistributive" is not congruent with my use of the term (or Polanyi's use of it). Smith intends it solely to refer to the distribution of goods down the market hierarchy towards consumers, as contrasted to the "bulking" or ascent up the market hierarchy in ever-larger wholesale lots of goods from the producers.

[7] By "peasant" Smith means "Indian."

[8] The two claims which I criticize are drawn from the "summary" of Smith's Chapter IV, which discusses marketplaces. I find her "summary" puzzling as it--and the claims advanced in it--seems to have little relationship to the contents and results of Chapter IV.

[9] There is a clear warning here for archeologists who might be tempted to assume that central-place models have universal application.

[10] C. Smith (1972) uses the spelling resgatón throughout her study rather than the usual regatón, but gives no explanation. I have preferred the more usual spelling.

[11] See especially McBryde (1933:117, 124-126; 1947:83), Bunzel (1952:68, 70, 72-74), Tax (1946:28-31), and W. Smith (1977:47, 105).

[12] Bromley & Symanski (1974:8-9) note that the founding of Sunday markets coinciding with compulsory Sunday religious services was characteristic of the Spanish colonial system.

CHAPTER 8

THE CHIAPAS-GUATEMALA BORDER REGION

This chapter contains such information as is available to me regarding trade relationships between Chiapas and Guatemala involving the Indians, a historic trade route from the interior to the Pacific coast via Motozintla, and the immigration by Guatemalan Indians and the enganche in Chiapas, both caused by the Soconusco coffee fincas. These are disparate materials, related mainly through their geographical locale. The study as a whole, however, would remain seriously incomplete without some consideration given to these subjects.

TRADE AND SMUGGLING BETWEEN COMITAN AND WESTERN GUATEMALA

There is little systematic data on trade between the Chiapas Highlands and western Guatemala due to two circumstances: (1) the lack of study on the Ladino town of Comitán, the major centre of trade on the Mexican side of the border, and (2) the fact that so much of the Chiapas-Guatemala trade has taken the form of smuggling, about which the participants are understandably reticent.

The Ladino town of Comitán probably always has been a major trade link between the Chiapas Highlands and western Guatemala (Figure 29). Following independence from Spain (1821) and the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala (1824), an international

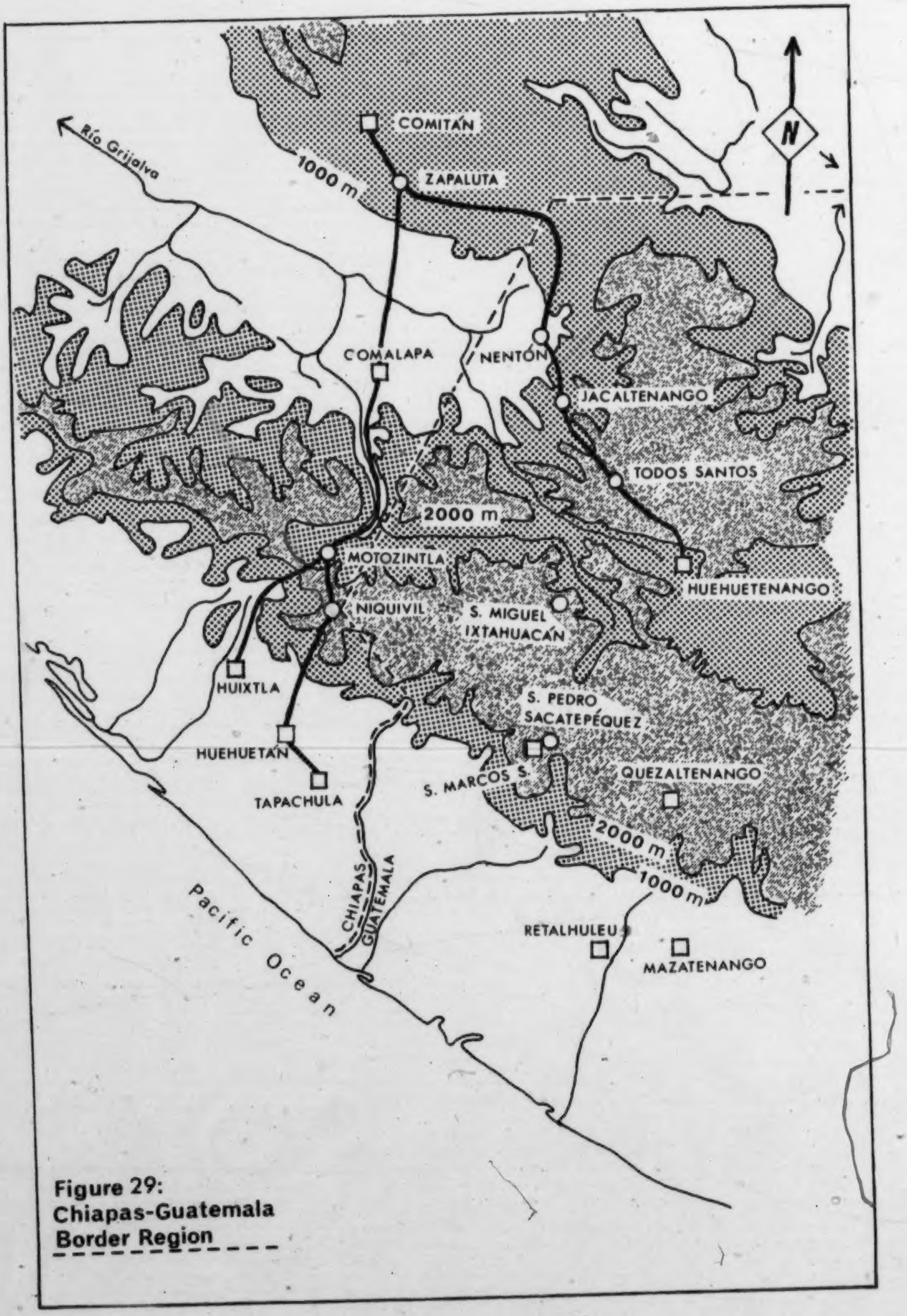

COMITAN
Río Grijalva
1000 m
ZAPALUTA
N
COMALAPA
NENTON
JACALTENANGO
TODOS SANTOS
2000 m
MOTOZINTLA
HUEHUETENANGO
NIQUIVIL
S. MIGUEL IXTAHUACAN
HUIXTLA
S. PEDRO SACATEPEQUEZ
HUEHUETAN
S. MARCOS S.
QUEZALTENANGO
TAPACHULA
2000 m
1000 m
Pacific Ocean
CHIAPAS
GUATEMALA
RETALHULEU
MAZATENANGO

Figure 29: Chiapas-Guatemala Border Region - - - - -

boundary of imprecise location came into being between Comitán and the Guatemalan Highlands. While in theory this boundary was also a customs frontier, the vagueness of its location prior to the 1880s and the concomitant difficulty of holding such an unmarked line against the intrusion of eager entrepreneurs resulted in the rather indifferent effect of this "barrier" on trade. The well-known traveller John L. Stephens (1949:211) thus describes the Comitán of the 1840s:

> It was a place of considerable trade, and has become so by the effect of bad laws, for, in consequence of the heavy duties on regular importations at the Mexican ports of entry, most of the European goods consumed in this region were smuggled in from Belize and Guatemala...the day before we arrived twenty or thirty muleloads that had been seized were brought into Comitan; but the profits were so large that smuggling was a regular business, the risk of seizure being considered one of the expenses of carrying it on.

Although the boundary between Chiapas and Guatemala was fixed in 1883 (O'Gorman 1973:140-141, 257-261), smuggling has continued up until the present-day despite efforts to enforce the customs barrier because "the border is long, the mountains wild, and the forests thick" (Blom & LaFarge 1927:415).[1] The main item smuggled into Guatemala seems to have been comiteco, the famous liquor manufactured in Comitán, but Bunzel (1952:73, footnote 85) notes "contraband of all kinds" and "arms and ammunition" while more recently W. Smith (1977:86) notes medicines produced in México. The goods smuggled into México are not recorded.

On the Mexican side the smuggling seems to be handled by Ladinos (Montagu 1969:228), while in Guatemala Indians are the smugglers. It is a high risk occupation, as described in the 1920s from the Cuchumatanes by LaFarge & Byers (1931:66):

> This is a dangerous occupation; the border guards are a rough and rather low type of men who are zealous in the discharge of their duty, as much of their earnings consist in confiscated goods. They will shoot almost on sight.

For more recent times, W. Smith (197:86) gives a graphic description of the difficulties faced by contrabandista Indians from San Miguel Ixtahuacán, in the Sierra Madre of Guatemala:

> The trip to Comitan...is arduous. Most of the journey must be made on foot and at night, rivers must be forded, there is little food, and exposure is extreme. Besides, almost all smugglers sooner or later land in jail, so smuggling is not as attractive to most men as legal plaza commerce.

As already indicated not all trade was smuggling: there was also legal trade between Comitán and Guatemela which paid the customs duties. Concerning this I only have data on Indian traders from Guatemala, many or most of whom seem to originate from the Cuchumatanes area. As to trade routes, I have no data on trade in the 1950s and after, when the main road connection has been the Pan-American Highway (see Figure 29); the earlier route was from Comitán via Zapaluta (La Trinitaria) in Chiapas to Rancho Gracias a Díos just inside Guatemala, and from there to Nentón, Jacaltenango, Todos Santos, and Chiantla to Huehuetenango (de La Peña 1951:398;

map in Blom & LaFarge 1927), which route stays within the highlands for the whole distance.

The goods borne across the border to Comitán included black woolen chamarras (called capixaij in the Cuchumatanes) destined for the Chamulas and other Indians of the Chiapas Highlands (LaFarge 1947:30), and skirt materials which reached the Zoques near Tuxtla Gutiérrez (Cordry & Cordry 1941:47, 86). Goods obtained from Chiapas included pottery from Amatenango - found as far into Guatemala as the town of Huehuetenango (LaFarge & Byers 1931:66), woven belts and hair-wraps from Chamula and Sivacá intended for Todos Santos (LaFarge 1947:30), and presumably other items. Despite the legal nature of their trade, Indian comerciantes did not always find it safe: at Zapaluta in 1925 Blom & LaFarge "met several heavily armed men leading four or five others by ropes tied around their necks. We later learned that the captives had plundered Indians who were carrying merchandise from Guatemala to Comitan" (1927:428).

Carlos Navarrete (1973:85) provides an important description of Indian trading expeditions from Guatemala to Comitán:

> ... until the beginning of this century there used to arrive at Comitán "troops" of burden-bearing Indians from Guatemala, averaging thirty to forty men. During the journey through the mountains and Grijalva Basin they travelled arranged in "Indian file" and usually barefoot; but before entering the town they would wash their feet, put on sandals and clean clothes, and parade in - two by two in perfect order - taking up both sides of the main street. At the head would march the captain or leader

> of the company, flanked by the drummer and the chirimía player.[2]
>
> The leader would carry a rod of authority and only he carried in his cargo frame the image of the patron saint and the objects used in his worship at the end of each day's journey and on arrival at market: copal, cloths for an improvised altar, censers - in addition to his cult objects and clothes. The musicians also served as "bearers", that is they did not carry anything other than the food and belongings of the group.
>
> On arriving at the centre of the town they would visit the church or conduct a small ceremony before the altar of the market, then disperse to offer their merchandise for sale.[3]

The impressive formality and ceremony upon entry into town and marketplace described above indicates a formality in the organization of long distance Indian trade unrecorded elsewhere in the literature. I take this as a sign that much has escaped the notice of ethnographers and ethnohistorians of Chiapas and Guatemala.

THE TRADE ROUTE VIA MOTOZINTLA TO THE PACIFIC COAST

Roughly paralleling the Chiapas-Guatemala border, and running from the Grijalva Basin through the Sierra Madre to the Pacific coastal plain, is a historic trade route and line of communications (see Figure 29). The most detailed description is given by Waibel (1946:216-219): the route runs from Comitán to Zapaluta, then south across the Grijalva Basin to Comalapa, then up the Motozintla Valley (through which flows the Río Cuilco) into the Sierra Madre to Motozintla; from Motozintla one branch crosses a high pass into the

Huixtla Valley and descends to Huixtla in the foothills of the mountains, while another branch leads to Niquivil--a border station-- and then descends the Huehuetán Valley to the towns of Huehuetán and Tapachula. Waibel speculates that this must be an ancient route across the Sierra and, since he calls it a "cart road," it seems likely to have been paved during the Spanish Colonial period. However, at the time Waibel described it (1925-1926) it was used only by foot and animal traffic, which included Indians traveling from the Chiapas Highlands to work on the coffee fincas of the Pacific coast, as well as mule trains of traders and travelers. Waibel especially notes the presence of special travelers' accommodations set up along the route every 8 km or so. Blom & LaFarge (1927:415) report that "Along this trail the same river has to be crossed twenty-six times. When the rains swell the river, all traffic with the outside world has to go by San Cristóbal Las Casas and Tuxtla Gutiérrez" to reach the Pacific coast from Comitán. In recent years a truck road has been constructed from Huixtla up to Motozintla along the old route (Medina Hernández 1973:159).

THE COFFEE FINCA, IMMIGRATION, AND THE ENGANCHE IN CHIAPAS

As noted previously in Chapter 3, coffee growing on the Pacific slopes began in Guatemala in the 1860s and gradually expanded westwards to the border with Chiapas. In about 1890 the first coffee fincas were established in the Soconusco region of Chiapas (Waibel

1946:143). Until about 1904, labour on the Soconusco fincas was supplied by Mam and Quiché Indians from the Guatemalan Highlands; many of these Indians remained in Chiapas, both to escape debt-bondage to fincas in Guatemala and to colonize the uninhabited Sierra Madre--essentially, then, they emigrated because of the subsistence crisis in the Guatemalan Highlands (Pozas 1952:34; Waibel 1946:145). Although the Mam and Quiché colonists established their hamlets using the same technology in construction and agriculture as in the Guatemalan Highlands (Waibel 1946:146), they apparently did not replicate the social and ceremonial organization of their homeland since Medina Hernández (1973:160, 185) reports that they did not establish closed-corporate Indian communities, but are assimilating into Ladino culture to the extent that they now deny an Indian identity. The market system of the Mam settlements, although not extensive, shows an element of the Guatemalan Highlands in that the market days appear to be staggered; however, there is no community specialization, crafts being either imported--as in the case of skirt material--or produced in all municipios--as in the case of pottery (Medina Hernández 1973:188-193).

Beginning in 1904, finca owners began to send agents into the Chiapas Highlands to engage labour among the Tzotzil and Tzeltal. This was accomplished by the *enganche*, the same system of debt-bondage as had been previously used in Guatemala. At first the labourers travelled overland from the central highlands to Soconusco via the Motozintla trade route described above. During the Cárdenas presidency (1934-1940) the Mexican government imposed reforms in labour recruitment and labour conditions on the fincas, and transportation to the fincas was introduced: via truck and bus from the Highlands to Arriaga on the Pacific coastal plain and by railroad from Arriaga to Soconusco (Pozas 1952). Unlike the use of Guatemalan Indian labour, this has not resulted in the settlement of Tzotziles and Tzeltales in the Sierra Madre.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

[1] During the ethnographic present smuggling between Comitán and western Guatemala is briefly noted by the following sources: Starr (1908:51), Blom & LaFarge (1927:415), LaFarge & Byers (1931:66), Bunzel (1952:73, footnote 58), Montagu (1969:228), and W. Smith (1977:86).

[2] The chirimía is an Indian oboe, introduced from Spain during the colonial period.

[3] My translation; in the original Spanish:

> ...hasta principios de siglo llegaban a Comitán "tropas" de indígenas "mecapaleros" procedentes de Guatemala, con un promedio de treinta a cuarenta hombres. Durante el viaje a través de la Sierra y la subida del Grijalva venían dispuestos en "fila india" y generalmente descalzos; antes de entrar a la población se lavaban los pies, se colocaban los huaraches, se ponían ropa limpia y formados de dos en dos desfilaban en perfecto orden, tomando las dos orillas de la calle. Al frente marchaba el capitán o patrón de la compañía, flanqueado por el tamborero y el que tocaba la chirimía.
>
> El jefe llevaba el bastón de mando y únicamente cargaba en su cacaxtli la imagen en bulto del santo patrón y los objetos que servían para rendirle culto al fin de cada jornada y al llegar al mercado: copal, mantas para el altar que se improvisaba, sahumerios, aparte de sus objetos particulares y ropa. Los músicos servían también como "sufridores", o sea que no llevaban mas cosas que los alimentos y las pertenencias del grupo.

Al llegar al centro de la población se visitaba la iglesia o se hacía una pequeña ceremonia frente al altar del mercado, para luego dispersarse a ofrecer la mercancía.

CHAPTER 9

COMPARISONS AND AN EXAMINATION OF POSSIBLE EXPLANATORY FACTORS

This chapter makes an explicit comparison between the systems of Indian trade already described for Chiapas and Guatemala. While the principal subject of the comparison is the set of contrasts between the two trade systems, it is first important to review the similarities in background which make the contrasts all the more significant.

BACKGROUND SIMILARITIES BETWEEN CHIAPAS AND GUATEMALA

As described in Chapter 2, Chiapas and Guatemala are basically similar in geology, geography, climate and vegetation; they are, however, not identical and I will suggest later in this chapter that a difference in geography is one factor underlying differences between the two trade systems.

The Mayan Indians who live in the highlands of Chiapas and Guatemala are fundamentally similar in many features of their culture: settlement patterns, technology and crafts, agriculture, religious beliefs and institutions, and political and social institutions. They have had similar histories of relationships with the Spanish and Ladinos: conquest by the Spanish, subjection to the Spanish colonial system in all its aspects, and exploitation as a labour resource by the post-colonial Ladino governments (see Chapter 3). Also, the Mayan communities of both highland areas have experienced considerable population growth over the past century or more, although--as will be seen--with different results.

CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE SYSTEMS OF INDIAN TRADE

Production Contrasts

The Chiapas Highlands are characterized by a minor degree of community specialization; conversely, most Indian communities seem to be basically self-sufficient in crafts and agricultural produce--most importantly, in maize.

In the Guatemalan Highlands a major degree of community specialization is characteristic, and most Indian communities are not self-sufficient in either agricultural or craft production, hence are dependent upon several other communities for these items, and many communities lack self-sufficiency in maize production.

Market System Contrasts

In Chiapas the Indian markets meet one day per week, this day being Sunday almost exclusively. Thus, Chiapas markets are characterized by simultaneous periodicity, a system which is not favourable for professional traders.

In Guatemala approximately one third of the markets meet on two or more days per week and the market days are staggered. The result is a series of "solar-system" market clusters throughout most areas of the highlands, a situation very favourable to professional traders.

Contrasts in Trading and Traders

Trading: In Chiapas most trade is done by producer-traders in their own markets or at a few nearby markets. There is relatively little trade by Indian professional traders, and there are very few Indian middlemen of any sort. Storage and lodging institutions are almost non-existent.

In Guatemala, while producer-traders remain important within a short radius of their own communities, there is a large volume of long-distance trade carried on by a multiplicity of Indian professional traders, and there are many Indian middlemen. Along with this is a good development of storage and lodging institutions.

Producer-Traders: In Chiapas the trading sexual division of labour among producer-traders is strongly correlated with the production sexual division of labour when trading within one's own market: the producer sells his/her own sex-linked products. However, trading in foreign markets is done by the men of the household.

In Guatemala, the trading sexual division of labour does not correlate with production sexual divisions, but instead correlates with the local/foreign market dichotomy: women trade in their own market, men trade in foreign markets.

Professional Traders: In Chiapas Ladino peddlers dominate professional trading, with most Indian traders coming from one impoverished community.

In Guatemala Indians dominate professional trading and originate from many communities, with some communities tending to specialize in professional trading.

Summary Characterizations

Chiapas Highlands: In terms of Indian trade, this is a minimally integrated region: community self-sufficiency, a minor degree of community specialization, simultaneous market periodicity, and Ladino dominance of professional trading result in a low volume of Indian trade which rests in the hands of producer-traders, a near absence of Indian middlemen, and few Indian professional traders.

Guatemalan Highlands: In terms of Indian trade, this is a symbiotic region: lack of community self-sufficiency, a major degree of community specialization, "solar-system" market systems, and Indian dominance of professional trading result in interdependent Indian communities supplied through a high volume of trade in the hands of Indian producer-traders, middlemen, and professional traders.

In both trade systems, as they presently operate, money from the Ladino world is brought into the systems through wage labour and cash crop production. In Chiapas, while this "capital" spreads throughout the Indian trade system, much of it finds its way back into Ladino hands through Ladino dominance of professional trading and middleman positions. In Guatemala, with Indian middlemen and professional traders, a greater amount of this "capital" remains in Indian hands and can be used for expanding entrepreneurial activities.

AN EXAMINATION OF POSSIBLE EXPLANATORY FACTORS

In the remainder of this final chapter I wish to briefly explore possible explanations for the great contrasts between the Indian trade systems of Chiapas and Guatemala and, at the end, to make recommendations for future work on trade in these areas. The following examination of possible explanatory factors will be relatively brief and more suggestive than demonstrative. Part of the reason for this is that detailed exploration of any of these factors is beyond the scope and time limitations of this thesis, and many of the factors can only be satisfactorily dealt with through fieldwork or time-consuming collation of data--and in some cases adequate information simply does not presently exist.

Geographical Juxtaposition of Ecological Zones

In Mesoamerica both archaeologists and ethnographers have frequently made use of an ecological thesis presented by Webster McBryde (1947:82), namely that juxtaposed highland/lowland ecological zones are a strong factor promoting trade. Unfortunately, this thesis has been applied uncritically wherever highland and lowland zones meet, but I suggest that this thesis is true only in certain definable contexts and may be untrue, or even reversed--as in the case of Chiapas.

There is a critical difference between the geographical positions and relationships of highland (tierra fría and tierra templada) and lowland (tierra caliente) ecological zones in Guatemala and those in

Chiapas. In Guatemala (Figures 5 & 6) the interior depression between the Sierra Madre and the interior limestone massif (Los Altos Cuchumatanes) is a series of high basins, all tierra templada except at the western and eastern extremes where the rivers cut deep enough to form narrow strips of tierra caliente. Generally, however, the communities occupying the north slopes of the Sierra Madre, the interior basins, and the south slopes and crest of the Cuchumatanes are limited in their lands to one or two ecological zones: tierra fría and tierra templada. Hence, the majority of Highland Guatemalan Indian communities have no direct access to lowland produce and must obtain it through trade with outsiders. This is the phenomenon noted by McBryde as contributing to the importance of markets on the south slopes of the Sierra Madre (such as Sololá) which have intermediary locations between the Pacific lowlands and the interior highland basins and mountains.

The geographical situation in Chiapas is quite different (see Figures 5 & 6): the interior basin is low and composed principally of tierra caliente, which means that the limestone massif (Los Altos de Chiapas) is surrounded by tropical lowlands. Furthermore, the northern section of these highlands is broken into ranges separated by tierra caliente valleys. The result is that most Indian communities have at least some lowland territory (Chamula is one of the few which does not). I suspect that lowland produce is distributed through the Indian communities principally by internal goods exchanges, whether at the market or by the poorly documented household exchanges, and that trade in lowland products remains minimal. (It is here that the lack of records on consumer purchasing becomes excruciatingly painful, as they are precisely what is needed to help document internal exchange of these products).

In summary, it appears that very close juxtaposition of highland and lowland ecological zones, where most highland areas have direct access to lowland products, will not stimulate trade between communities. Only where many highland communities are isolated from lowland territory--as in Guatemala--will trade be stimulated by ecological differences.

Demographic Differences Between Chiapas and Guatemala

The essential demographic difference between the Chiapas and Guatemalan highland regions is that of population density: the population density of the Guatemalan Highlands is much higher than that of the Chiapas Highlands. This can be illustrated in two ways: first, Figure 30 shows the numbers and percentages of communities by population density classes as of the early 1970s.[1] It will be noted that the majority of Chiapas communities have less than fifty persons per km^2, whereas the majority of Guatemalan communities have population densities ranging between fifty and two hundred persons per km^2. A second way of illustrating the population density differences between the two regions is to note that while the twenty Chiapas communities have an average population density of 36.9 persons per

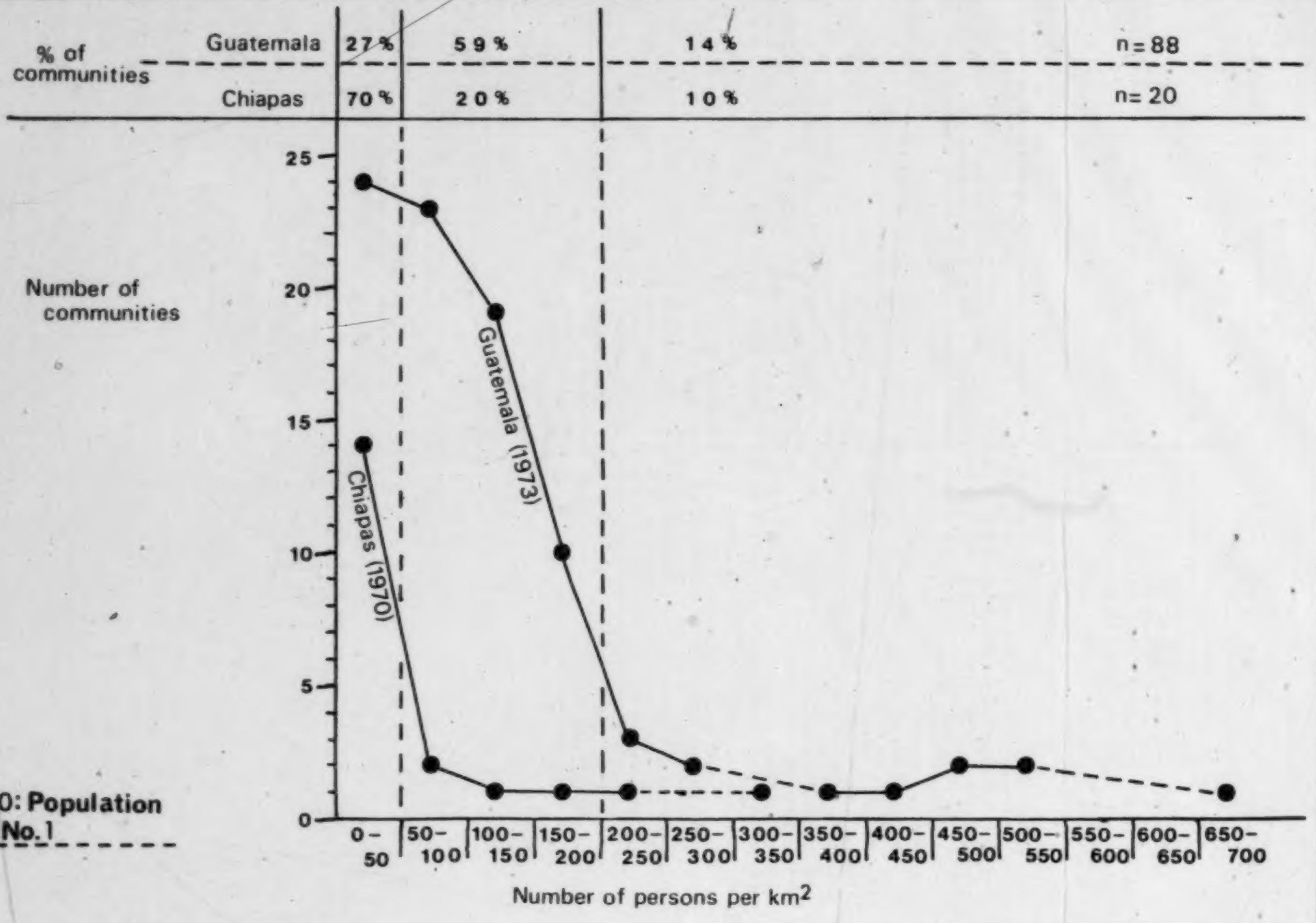


Figure 30: Population Graph No.1

km^2, the departamentos of Highland Guatemala fall into the following population density classes: 25 to 49 persons per km^2, El Quiché; 50 to 74 persons per km^2, Huehuetenango; 100 to 499 persons per km^2, San Marcos, Quezaltenango, Totonicapán, and Sololá (Guatemala, D.G.E. 1975:XL). The low density class for El Quiché can be attributed to the large uninhabited area of the Petén lowlands which is included in this departamento.

The link between population density and trade comes through a recognition that a community's population may exceed the agricultural capacity of its land. Such a relationship of population density to subsistence crisis (or lack of same) may be seen in Chiapas where all four communities with population densities greater than 100 persons per km^2 suffer from maize shortages,[2] while of the two communities with population densities between 50 and 100 persons per km^2, one (Zinacantán, with 97.7 persons per km^2) must rent additional farming lands in the lowlands in order to produce sufficient maize and the other (Yajalón, with 80.5 persons per km^2) produces coffee and tobacco as cash crops. Thus, it seems that the population density threshold between self-sufficiency and non-self-sufficiency in maize production lies somewhere between 50 and 100 persons per km^2 in the Chiapas Highlands.[3]

In the Chiapas case, not only must the communities with high population densities import maize (thus involving themselves in trade) but at least some of their people must earn the cash to purchase the imported maize: the options being wage labour, specialized craft production, professional trading, or the farming of land outside the community. All of these options are utilized in Chiapas, in some cases (Chamula, for example) through a combination of all or most of them.

Turning now to Guatemala, we may see a relationship between the generally much higher population densities and the greater degree of community specialization, higher volume of trade and greater number of Indian traders. However, there is a further complication here in that there are differences in soil quality and the amounts of arable land per km^2 both between Chiapas and Guatemala and between different regions within the Guatemalan Highlands.

To deal with the latter point first, the relatively flat lands of the interior basins in the Guatemalan Highlands may be expected to have a greater amount of arable land per km^2 than will the sloping mountain lands of the Sierra Madre and the Cuchumatanes. This, however, is complicated through the fact that while the Sierra Madre and interior basin soils are primarily volcanic in origin, the soils of the Cuchumatanes originate from limestone.[4] Add further that slash-and-burn agricultural techniques are predominate in Chiapas and the Cuchumatanes, while more intensive techniques are frequently in use in the rest of the Guatemalan Highlands, and the picture of the relationship of population density-to-arable land-to-soil fertility takes on great complexity. As far as I am aware, the detailed professional studies necessary to provide the background data necessary to unravel this problem do not yet exist.[5]

The best I can offer at present is a simple comparison (Figure 31) between the population densities of the Chiapas Highlands (soils of limestone origin), the Cuchumatanes (also soils of limestone origin), and the remainder of the Guatemalan Highlands (soils of volcanic origin). While the results show an even sharper contrast between the Chiapas Highlands and the volcanic Guatemalan areas (than in Figure 30), the Cuchumatanes form an intermediary region. If population density were directly determined by soil type alone, one would expect more similarity between the Chiapas and Cuchumatanes graphs in Figure 31; the lack of a close correspondence between them suggests that other factors must be at work as well.

Keeping in mind the various caveats and difficulties noted above, it is possible to state that while the better soils of the Sierra Madre and interior basins of Guatemala can support higher population densities than can those of the Chiapas Highlands, their limits have been surpassed long ago as indicated by the well-documented subsistence crisis in Guatemala. Furthermore, since both the Chiapas Highlands and the Guatemalan Highlands have experienced steady population growth over the past century, the population density must have been consistently lower in the Chiapas Highlands throughout that period of time.

I suggest that the substantially lower population densities in

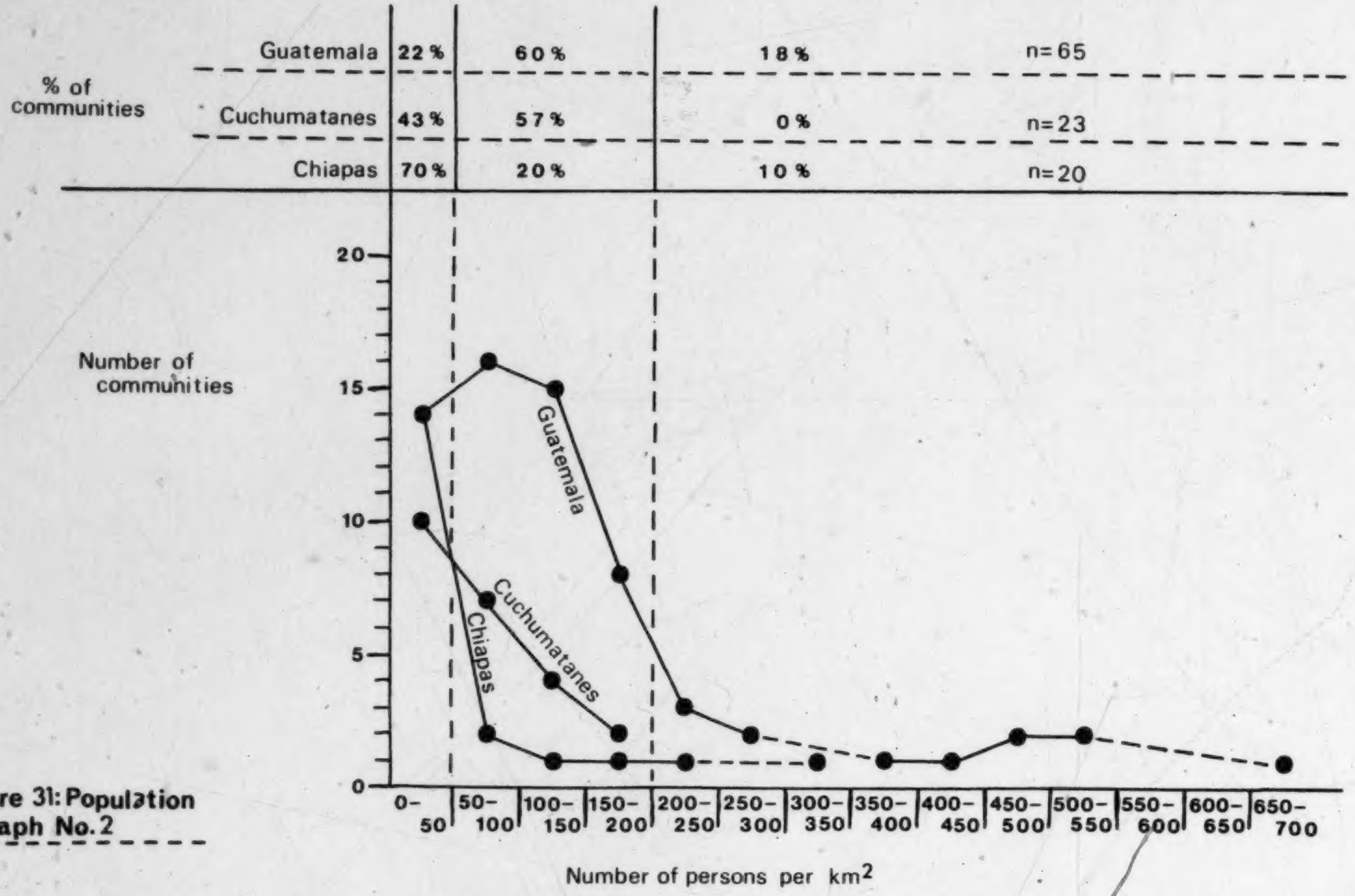


Figure 31: Population Graph No. 2

Chiapas are a major factor maintaining the self-sufficiency of its communities; meanwhile, the opposite seems to be true for most of the Guatemalan Highlands.

POSSIBLE HISTORICAL ORIGINS FOR CONTRASTS BETWEEN CHIAPAS AND GUATEMALA

The above discussion has briefly examined synchronic geographical and demographic influences as a basis for differences between the Indian trade systems of Chiapas and Guatemala. The following materials will deal with diachronic (historical) factors.

Demography and Political Organization

It is my impression that at the time of the Spanish Conquest there was already a significant difference between the highland regions of Chiapas and Guatemala. Guatemala seems to have had state-level political organizations and a fairly high population density, while the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied by Mayan chiefdoms and/or confederacies with (presumably) a lower population density.

It seems possible that the Guatemalan societies may already have been characterized by some community specialization of production. Indeed, it would be to the political advantage of the state organization to promote economic specialization (and hence interdependence) among its component territories, perhaps through specialized tribute demands. Spanish tribute lists from the immediate post-Conquest period might provide clues to community or regional specializations which were not ecologically determined.

Markets

Since there is historical record of at least one major market at Zinacantán in pre-Conquest times (see Chapter 5), I suspect that markets were integral parts of pre-Conquest Highland Maya societies, but more documentation is needed to help clarify their position. The present Sunday markets of Chiapas and the Cuchumatanes area, and the high frequency of Sunday as a major market day in the rest of Highland Guatemala constitute a clear indication that a Sunday weekly periodicity for marketing, religious, and judicial activities was imposed in Guatemala and Chiapas by the Spanish colonial administration, as elsewhere in the New World (Bromley & Symanski 1974: 8-9). I have already suggested in Chapter 7 how a regular schedule of traders' movements between major markets could cause the evolution of staggered market days in Guatemala. Historical evidence of the development of staggered periodicities should be sought as it should also signal the rise in importance of trade, of specialization, and of population to the level where land shortages begin to be felt.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I recommend some changes in the orientation of research and the types of data collected by ethnographers. The "community study" problem orientation is poorly suited for providing data on trade or any other form of exchange between communities as it visualizes the community in isolation, rather than in context. Furthermore, over emphasis of fieldwork on one particular community can lead to serious misconceptions through projecting that particular community's ideosyncrasies as typical of a particular region; a case in point is the over emphasis on Zinacantán in the ethnographic literature of Highland Chiapas, which tends to stamp the whole region with the ideosyncratic pattern of this one community. Basically, I am recommending the addition of a broader viewpoint to ethnographic research, where networks of interrelationships and patterns of shared characteristics could be uncovered and the individual ideosyncrasies recognized for what they are.

There needs to be a break away from the limitations of traditional data collection. This also involves changes in problem orientations: the traditional emphases on categories such as religion, kinship, social organization, etc. are obscuring important exchange relationships within the societies studied. A prime example is a paucity of data on social relationships responsible for internal goods circulation within Highland Chiapas societies. Another problem area is the one-sidedness of much data collection, the worst example being the recording of data on market vendors without corresponding data on the buyers with whom they exchange. How, I ask, is one to study exchange if only one side of the relationship is recorded??

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

[1] The data for Figure 30 are derived by dividing the total of a community's population by its surface area (in km^2), thus providing a population density per km^2. These figures are summarized in population density classes in Figure 30. Population figures are drawn from the most recent censuses (México, D.G.E. 1972:15-17; Guatemala, D.G.E. 1975:5-23), while community surface areas are drawn mainly from older census publications (México, D.G.E. 1943; Guatemala, D.G.E. 1971:48-51). In the Chiapas Highlands only twenty Indian communities are administratively separate and form distinct municipios (the unit by which population is reported)--this accounts for the small number of communities used in Figure 30.

[2] These communities are Chamula (345.4 persons per km^2), Oxchuc (249.9 persons per km^2), Tenejapa (193 persons per km^2), and Mitontic (101.2 persons per km^2).

[3] For example, Tenejapa in the 1940s had a population density of only 80.3 persons per km^2, but was already noted as having a land shortage (Cámara Barbachano 1966:90; México, D.G.E. 1943).

[4] Volcanic soils are frequently of greater fertility than limestone-derived soils (Stevens 1964:306).

[5] In theory, an approximation to the necessary data could be reached using available soil survey information (Stevens 1964:305-307),

but as I have no training in soil science I do not feel competent to undertake the job myself.

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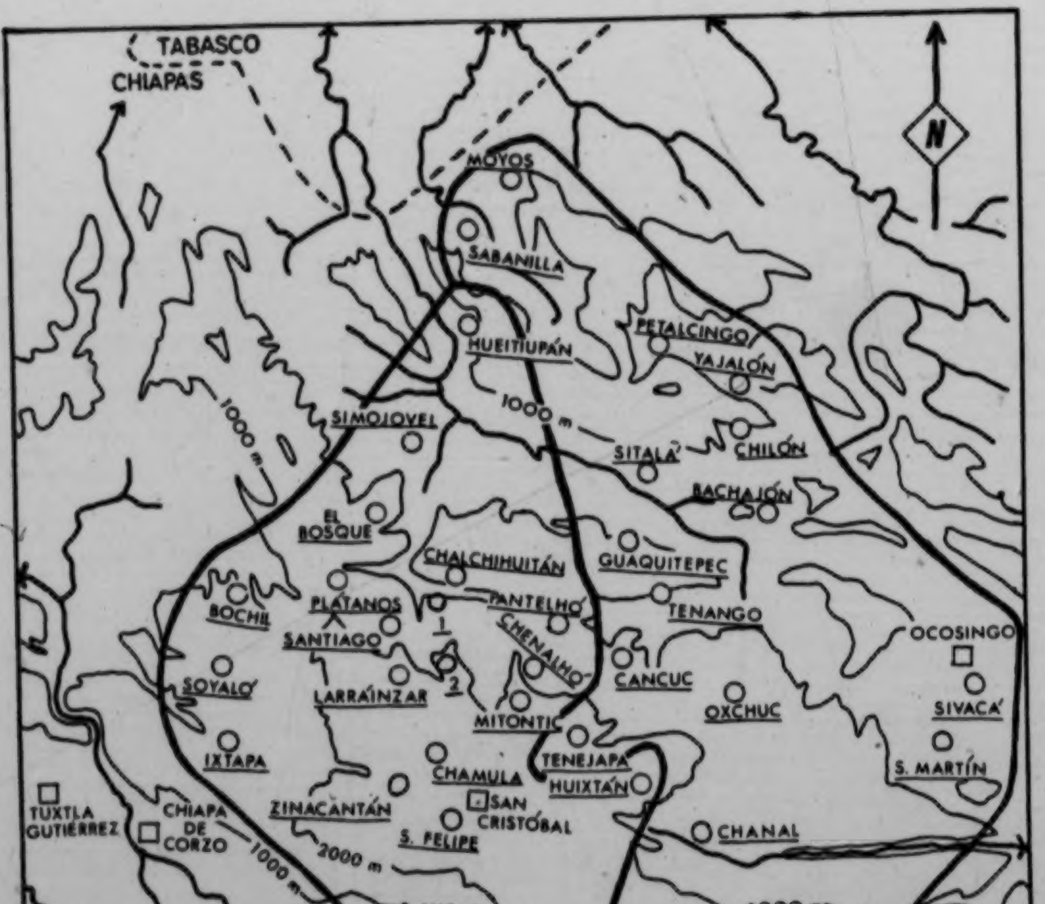
APPENDIX 1

TZELTAL AND TZOTZIL COMMUNITIES IN CHIAPAS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EL BOSQUE
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BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
OCOSINGO
SANTIAGO
1
CHENALHÓ
2
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
CANCUC
SIVACÁ
OXCHUC
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTOBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
TZELTAL
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
TZOTZIL
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
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APPENDIX 1: Table 1: LIST OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES

Based primarily on cuadro 1 in Calnek (1970:108-109).

Capitalized name is that used in this study; other names are listed below it.

*Official name imposed during anti-clerical period in 1930s.

Names	Patron Saint	Term for Inhabitants	Major Ethnographic Sources
AGUACATENANGO a) Tzete (Tzeltal)	Nuestra Señora de la Natividad	Aguacatenangueros	
AMATENANGO (del Valle) a) Tzobontaghal (Tzeltal)	San Francisco	Amatenangueros	J. Nash (1969, 1970)
BACHAJÓN	San Gerónimo		
CANCUC	San Juan Evangelista	Cancuqueros	Guiteras Holmes (1946a)
CHANAL		Chanaleros	
CHILÓN	Santo Domingo		
GUAQUITEPEC a) Taquinhuitz (Tzeltal)	Nuestra Señora de la Natividad		
MOYOS	San Francisco		
OXCHUC	Santo Tomás	Oxchuqueros	Siverts (1969a), Villa Rojas (1946)
PETALCINGO a) Caghol (Tzeltal)	San Francisco		

continued

Names	Patron Saint	Term for Inhabitants	Major Ethnographic Sources
PINOLA a) Muculaquil (Tzeltal) b) Villa las Rosas*	San Miguel	Pinoleros	Hermitte (1970), Hill (1964)
SABANILLAS	Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia		
SAN MARTÍN a) Abasolo*	San Martín		
SITALÁ a) Xitalhá (Tzeltal)	San Pedro		
SIVACÁ	San Marcos		
TENANGO	San Nicolás	Tenangueros	
TENEJAPA	San Alonso	Tenejapecos	Cámara Barbachano (1945b, 1966)
YAJALÓN a) Yaxalum (Tzeltal)	Santiago		

APPENDIX 1: Table 2: LIST OF TZOTZIL COMMUNITIES

Based primarily on cuadro 2 in Calnek (1970:120-121).

Capitalized name is that used in this study; other names are listed below it.

*Official name imposed during anti-clerical period in 1930s.

Names	Patron Saint	Term for Inhabitants	Major Ethnographic Sources
BOCHIL	San Pedro Mártir		
CHALCHIHUITÁN a) Ghlumnichim (Tzotzil)	San Pablo	Pableros	
CHAMULA a) Chamho (Tzotzil)	San Juan Bautista	Chamulas	Pozas (1959)
CHENALHÓ	San Pedro	Pedranos	Guiteras Holmes (1946b, 1961)
EL BOSQUE	San Juan Bautista		
HUIXTÁN a) Quina (Tzotzil)	San Miguel	Huixtecos	
HUEITIUPÁN a) Chanalucum (Tzotzil)	Nuestra Señora de la Asunción		
IXTAPA a) Nibac (Tzotzil)	Nuestra Señora de la Asunción		
LARRÁINZAR* a) Zacanchén (Tzotzil) b) San Andrés	San Andrés	Andrescos	Holland (1963)

continued

Names	Patron Saint	Term for Inhabitants	Major Ethnographic Sources
MAGDALENAS a) Tanjoveltic (Tzotzil)	Santa María Magdalena	Magdaleneros	
MITONTIC	San Miguel	Migueleros	Cámara Barbachano (1945a)
PANTELHÓ a) Zactanvitz (Tzotzil)	Santa Catalina	Catarineros	
PLÁTANOS a) Yolho (Tzotzil)	San Bartolomé		
SAN BARTOLOMÉ (de los Llanos) a) Alanchén (Tzotzil) b) Venustiano Carranza*	San Bartolomé	Bartolomeños	
SAN FELIPE (Ecatepec)	San Felipe		
SAN LUCAS a) Zapotal*	San Lucas Evangelista		
SANTA MARTA a) Chúpic (Tzotzil)	Santa Marta	Marteños	
SANTIAGO a) Chisna (Tzotzil)	Santiago	Santiagueros	
SIMOJOVEL a) Amaitic (Tzotzil)	San Antonio y San Bartolomé		
SOYALÓ	Nuestra Señora de la Presentación		

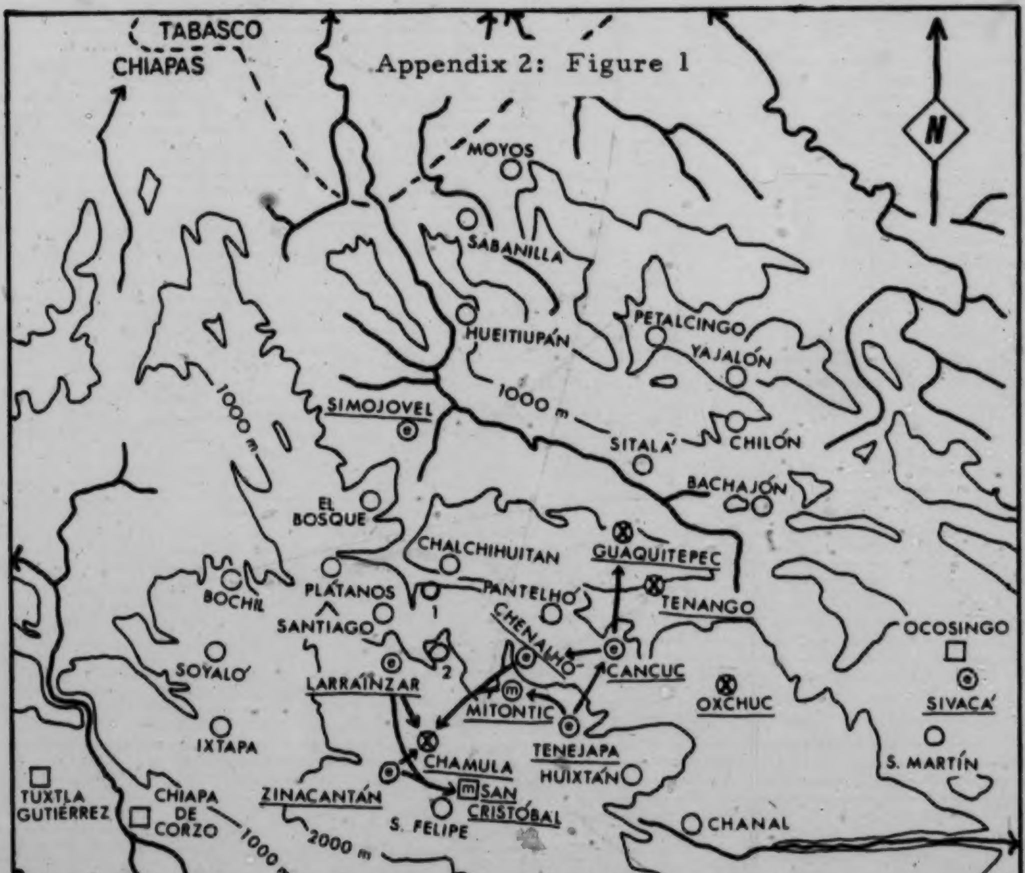
continued

Names	Patron Saint	Term for Inhabitants	Major Ethnographic Sources
TOTOLAPA a) Natigholón (Tzotzil)	San Dionisio		
ZINACANTÁN a) Tzotzlem (Tzotzil)	San Lorenzo (formerly Santo Domingo)	Zinacantecos	Vogt (1969a, 1976), Cancian (1965, 1972)

APPENDIX 2

CHIAPAS: BASIC DATA ON INDIAN TRADE

Appendix 2: Figure 1


TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
1
2
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
AMATENANGO
CHIAPILLA
Maize
X Importer
• Exporter
m Market Centre
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 1: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Maize Exporting Communities

Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Cancuc	-1944: Surplus maize sold to Ladinos and to "muchas indígenas del pueblo de Guaquitepec" (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:36. -1940s & 1950s: Cancuqueros selling maize at Sunday markets in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Chenalhó and Larráinzar	-1940s: Surplus maize from these communities sold to Chamula and San Cristóbal (Pozas 1959:82).
San Bartolomé	-"considerables exportaciones de maíz" in the period 1958-1961 (Salovesh 1965:318).
Simojovel	-Maize surpluses reported for 1940s (de la Peña:1951-1009).
Sivacá	-Surplus maize sold to other Indian communities in the 1960s (Arana O. 1964:361).
Tenejapa	-Maize sold by Tenejapecos at Fiesta de San Juan in Cancuc, April 28, 1944 (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40). -Maize sold by Tenejapecos at Sunday market in *paraje* of Chalam (Municipio de Mitontic) in 1944 (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14).
Zinacantán	-Maize sold in daily market at San Cristóbal in 1950s and 1960s (Siverts 1969a:38; Cancian 1972:81, 82; Colby 1966:11; Vogt 1969a:111). -Maize sold at weekly market at Chamula centre in 1940s and 1960s (Vogt 1969a:111; Pozas 1959:106).

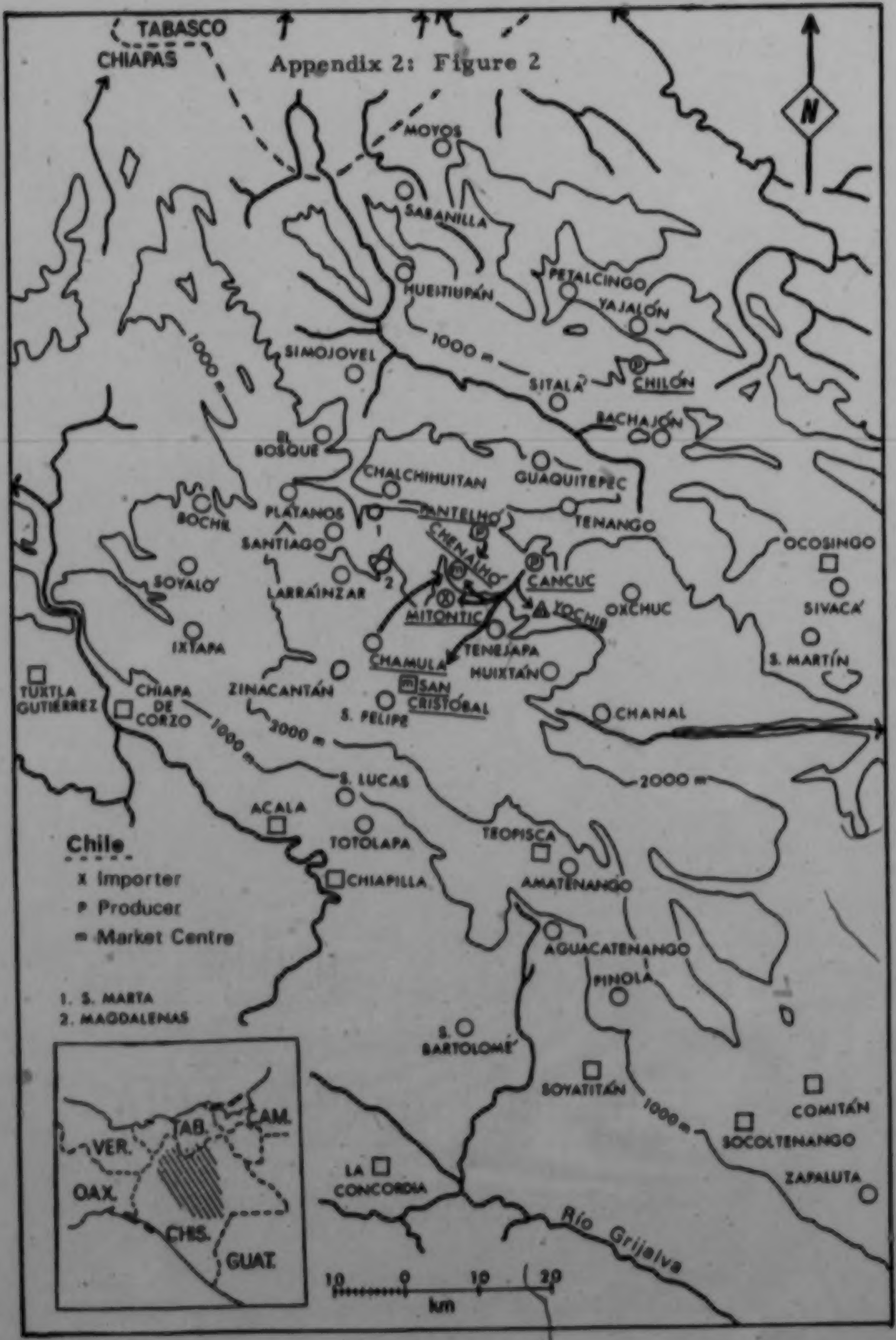
Maize Importing Communities

Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Chamula	-Chamula's difficulties in regard to lack of sufficiency in maize production are discussed by Pozas (1959:80-82) and Collier (1975:109-123) for the 1940s/1950s/1960s. -See data listed for Chenalhó, Larráinzar and Zinacantán, above. -Chamulas are reported buying maize at the Sunday market in the paraje of Chalam, Municipio de Mitontic in 1944 (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14).
Guaquitepec	-See data listed for Cancuc, above.
Oxchuc	-Data given in Turner (1977:169) indicates that Oxchuc is not self-sufficient in maize in the 1970s.
Tenango	-In the 1920s Blom and LaFarge (1927:382) state: "The Indians [of Tenango] explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields."

Commentary

It should be noted that while the ethnographers often state who is selling maize, only infrequently are the purchasers identified. Thus, while Cancuqueros are selling maize in Chenalhó, it is probably the Chamulas and others who are the buyers instead of the local Pedranos. This one-sidedness of ethnographic data affects all other products as well, hence some extrapolation is necessary to see the true patterns of trade.

Appendix 2: Figure 2


TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLATANOS
PANTELHO
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
1
2
MITONTIC
YOCHIB
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
Chile
x Importer
P Producer
m Market Centre
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
VER.
TAB.
CAM.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 2: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Chile Trade

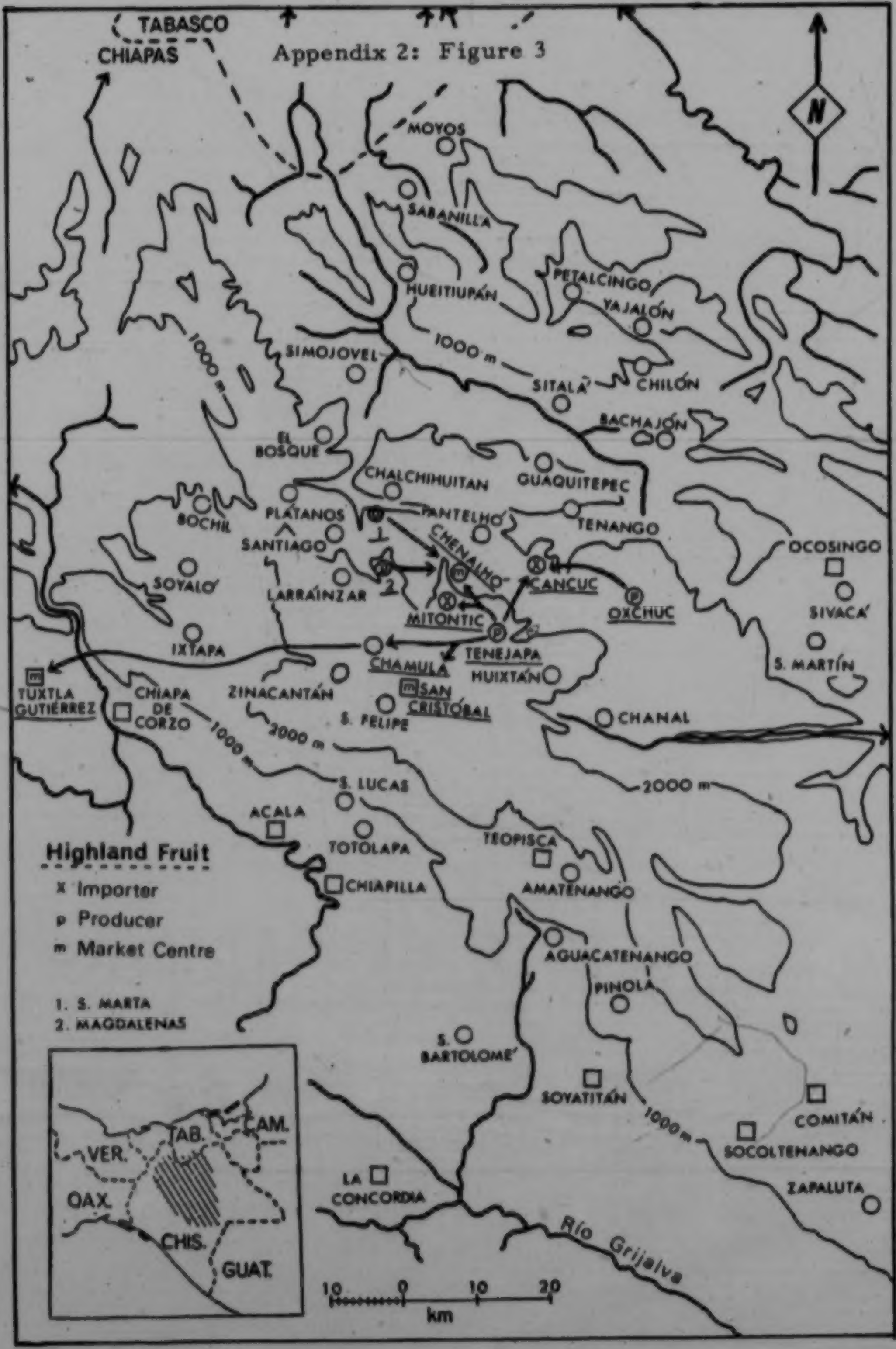
Exporting Community	Market, Date, Circumstances and Sources
Cancuc	-San Cristóbal: a) 1930s: daily market (Amram 1937: 25). b) 1961-1962: daily market (Siverts 1965b:342). -Ladinos: a) 1940s: chile purchased by Ladinos in Cancuc, who then resell it at daily market in San Cristóbal (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:101). b) 1961-1962: chile still being purchased by Ladinos in Cancuc (Siverts 1965b:342). -Yochib Illegal Market: 1940s: weekly market (Villa Rojas 1946:556-557). -Paraje of Chalam, Mitontic: 1940s: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945b: 15). -Chenalhó: 1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Chamula	-Chenalhó: 1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Chilón	-1911: listed as chile producing community Cámara Barbachano 1966:73).
Pantelhó	-Chenalhó: 1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45; 1961:60).

Commentary

Chamula is not listed by Pozas (1959) nor any other source as producing chile, and does not possess tierra caliente land anyway; hence, the Chamulas are probably acting as middlemen when bringing chile to Chenalhó.

Chenalhó does grow chile for internal use (Guiteras Holmes 1961:41); however, this community apparently serves as a marketing centre for chile produced in other communities.

Appendix 2: Figure 3


TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHO
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
CHENALHO
OCOSINGO
SOYALO
1
2
CANCUC
OXCHUC
SIVACA
LARRAÍNZAR
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
Highland Fruit
x Importer
p Producer
m Market Centre
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
VER.
TAB.
CAM.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 3: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

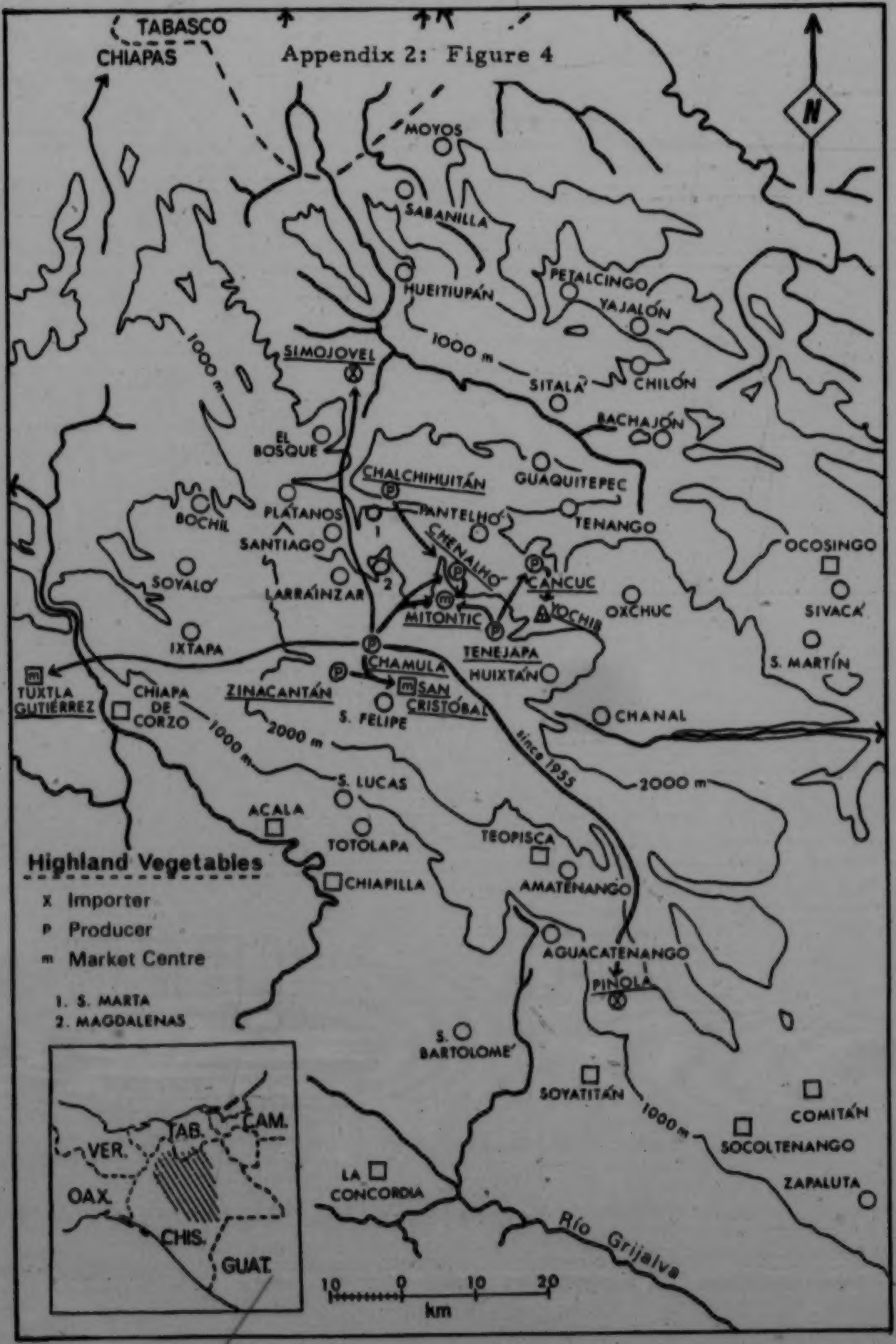
Highland Fruit Trade

Exporting Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Magdalenas	-"fruit": 1940s and 1950s: weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Oxchuc	-"Limas, duraznos..., cidras, manzanas": 1940s: weekly market in Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40).
Santa Marta	-"fruit": 1940s and 1950s: weekly market in Chanalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60). -"Limas, naranjas": 1940s: weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45).
Tenejapa	-1901: oranges and limes: daily market in San Cristóbal (Starr 1908:371); 1930s: "oranges": daily market in San Cristóbal (Amrám 1937:25). -1925: "apples": Tenejapeco travellers (merchants?) at Cancuc (Blom and LaFarge 1927:390); 1944: "Limas": Fiesta de San Juan in Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40). -1940s: oranges: taken to Tuxtla Gutiérrez by Chamula middlemen (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:101); 1940s: oranges: sold in the Highlands and in Tuxtla Gutiérrez by Chamulas (de la Peña 1951:881). -1944: peanuts and limes: weekly market in paraje of Chalam, Municipio de Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14). -1940s: "cacahuate tostado y naranjas": fiesta markets in Chamula (Pozas 1959:108). -1940s and 1950s: "peaches, apples, peanuts": weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Chamula	-1930s: apples: in daily market at Tuxtla Gutiérrez (Cordry and Cordry 1941:47).

Commentary

The apples sold in Tuxtla Gutiérrez by Chamulas may originate in Tenejapa or elsewhere in the Highlands, rather than at Chamula itself.

Appendix 2: Figure 4

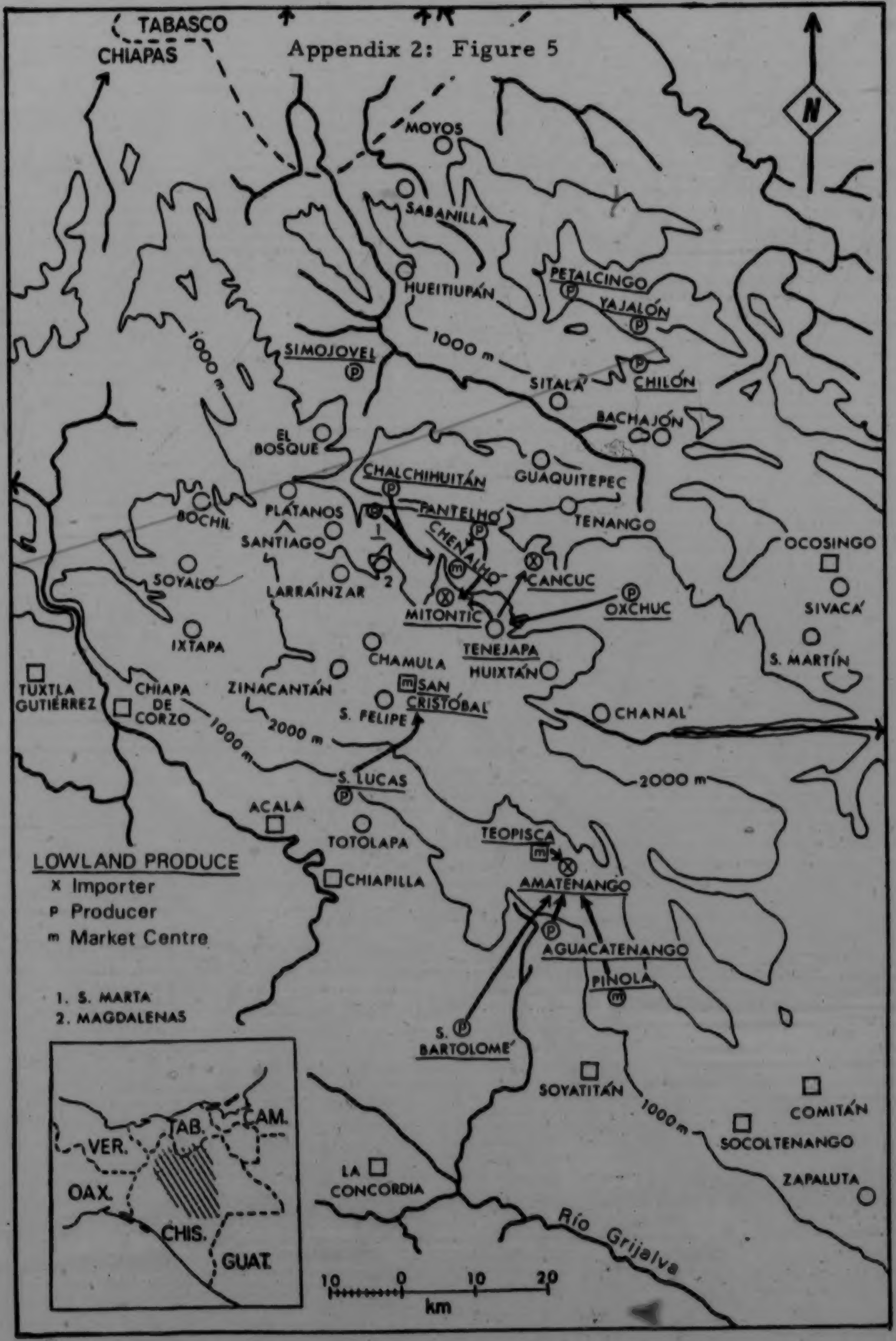

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITÁN
GUAQUITEPEC
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
CANCUC
SOYALÓ
LARRAÍNZAR
MITONTIC
OCHIB
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
since 1955
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
Highland Vegetables
x Importer
P Producer
m Market Centre
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 4: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Highland Vegetable Trade

Exporting Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Cancuc	-1930s: potatoes: daily market in San Cristóbal (Amram 1937:25). -1944: beans: Yochib illegal market (Villa Rojas 1946:556-557).
Chalchihuitán	-1940s: beans: weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45).
Chamula	-1930s: "cabbages, carrots, beets, tomatoes": daily market in San Cristóbal (Amram 1937:25). -1930s: potatoes and garlic: daily market in Tuxtla Gutiérrez (Pozas 1959:108). -1943: onions, turnips, cabbage, radishes: weekly market in Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:84-85). -1944: vegetables: fiesta market of San Miguel Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:11); 1944: onions, radishes, cabbage, turnips, vegetable greens, garlic: weekly market in _paraje_ of Chalam, Municipio de Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14). -1940s: cabbage: market in Simojovel (Pozas 1959:109). -1944: cabbage, radishes, cauliflower, _camotes_: weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45); 1940s and 1950s: garlic, onions, "vegetables both cooked and fresh": weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60). -Since 1955: potatoes: daily market in Pinola (Hill 1964:96).
Chenalhó	-1944: beans: weekly market in _paraje_ of Chalam, Municipio de Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14).

Tenejapa	-1944: "rábanos grandes": weekly market in *paraje* of Chalam, Municipio de Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14). -1944: avocados: market of Fiesta de San Juan in Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1946a: 40).
Zinacantán	-1960s: beans: daily market in San Cristóbal (Vogt 1969a:111).



Appendix 2: Figure 5

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
GUAQUITEPEC
CHALCHIHUITÁN
PANTELHÓ
CHENALHÓ
TENANGO
PLÁTANOS
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
1
2
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRAÍNZAR
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
TENEJAPA
IXTAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
AMATENANGO
CHIAPILLA
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
LOWLAND PRODUCE
x Importer
P Producer
m Market Centre
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10
0
10
20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 5: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

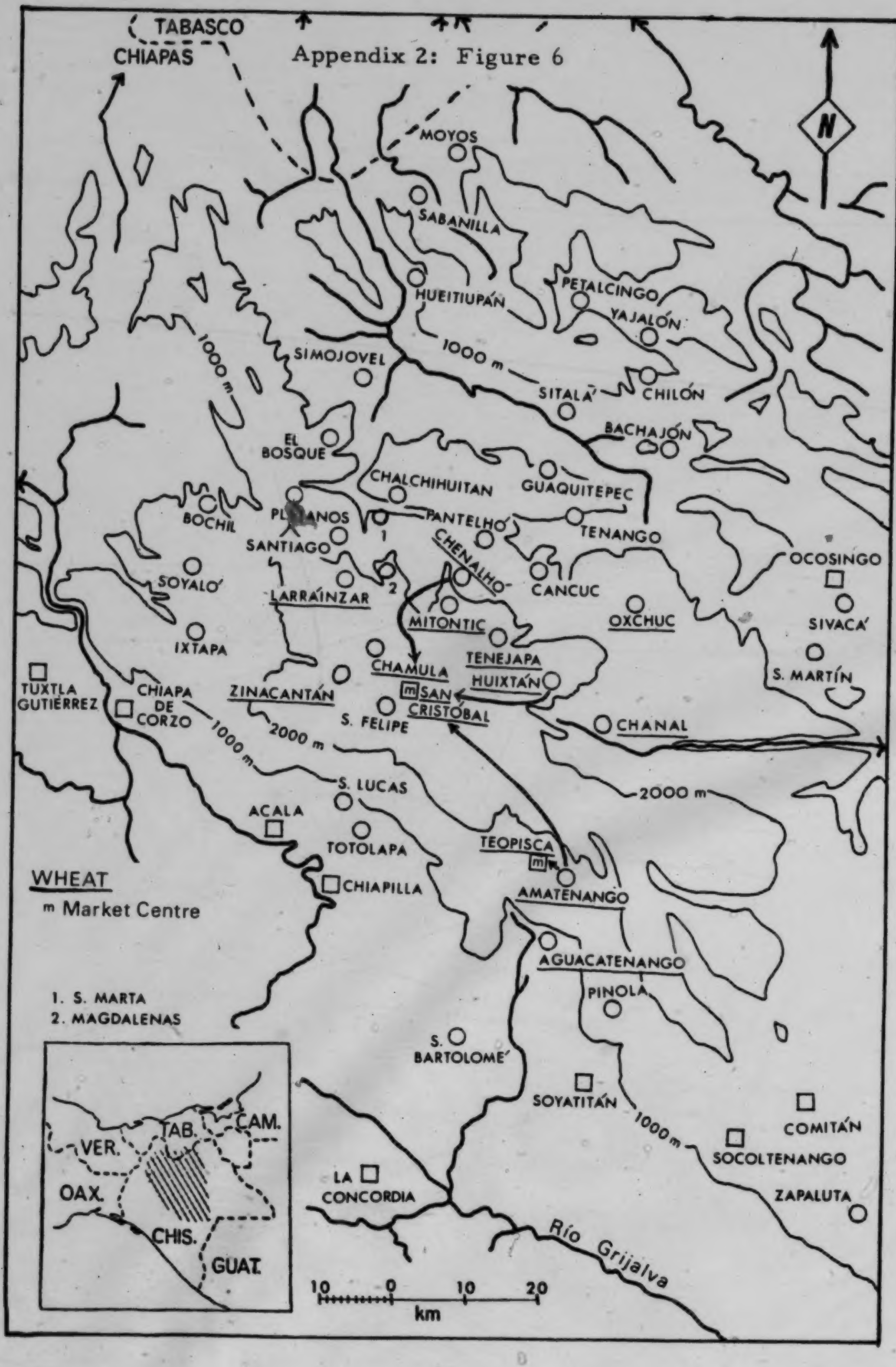
Lowland Produce Trade

Exporting Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Aguacatenango	-1950s: tropical fruits, sugar cane, other *tierra caliente* products: during major fiestas at Amatenango and to Amatenangueros during fiestas at Aguacatenango (J. Nash 1969:1/11).
Chalchihuitán	-1940s: bananas: weekly market at Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45).
Chilón	-1860s: sugar: listed as an exporter (Cámara Barbachano 1966:72). -1890s: coffee: listed as an exporter (Cámara Barbachano 1966:73). -1910s: coffee and sugar: listed as an exporter (Cámara Barbachano 1966:73).
Oxchuc	-1944: caña: fiesta market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:91).
Pantelhó	-1944: raw cotton: weekly market in *paraje* of Chalam, Municipio de Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:15). -1940s and 1950s: coffee: weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Pinola	-1950s: tropical fruit: sold to Amatenangueros at Pinola daily market (J. Nash 1969:1/11).
San Bartolomé	-1950s: tropical fruit: bought by Amatenangueros at market in San Bartolomé (J. Nash, 1969:1/11).
San Lucas	-1930s and 1940s: tropical fruit: daily market in San Cristóbal (Corzo 1943:77).
Santa Marta	-1940s: bananas, caña: weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45).

Simojovel	-1860s: tobacco: listed as an exporter (Cámara Barbachano 1966:72). -1890s and 1910s: tobacco and coffee: listed as an exporter (Cámara Barbachano 1966:73). -1940s: tobacco, coffee: exported (de la Peña 1951:862 and 1009).
Tenejapa	-1944: caña: market at Fiesta de San Juan in Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40). -1940s: caña, plátanos: weekly market in paraje of Chalam, Municipio de Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14).
Teopisca	-1940s: "fruits from the hot country": bought by Amatenangueros at the daily market in Teopisca (J. Nash 1969:1/9).
Yajalón	-1930s: coffee: exporter (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110). -1940s: tobacco: exporter (de la Peña 1951:862).
Petalcingo	-1930s: coffee: exporter (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110).

Commentary

The tierra caliente produce bought by Amatenangueros at markets in Pinola and Teopisca probably originated elsewhere. Likewise the caña and bananas sold by the Tenejapecos certainly must have originated in other communities.



Appendix 2: Figure 6

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
1
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
2
LARRAÍNZAR
CANCUC
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
m SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
m
WHEAT
m Market Centre
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 6: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Wheat Growers and Exporters

Growing/Exporting Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Aguacatenango	-1960s: growers (Vogt 1969a:66).
Amatenango	-1938: growers and exporters (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110). -1940s: growers (de la Peña 1951:867). -1958: growers and exporters (J. Nash 1969:1/9). -1960s: growers (Vogt 1969a:66).
Chamula	-1938: growers (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110). -1940s: growers (de la Peña 1951:867; Pozas 1959:84).
Chanal	-1938: growers and exporters (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110).
Chenalhó	-1940s: growers (de la Peña 1951:867). -1940s and 1950s: growers and exporters (Guiteras Holmes 1961:41, 51).
Huixtán	-1870s: growers (Cámara Barbachano 1966:72). -1938: growers (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110). -1930s: exporters (Amram 1937:25). -1940s: growers (de la Peña 1951:867). -1960s: growers (Vogt 1969a:66).
Larráinzar	-1940s: growers (de la Peña 1951:867). -1950s: growers (Holland 1963:33-34).
Mitontic	-1940s: growers (de la Peña 1951:867).
Oxchuc	-1940s: growers (de la Peña 1951:867).
Tenejapa	-1938: growers and exporters (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110).

-1940s: growers (de la Peña 1951:867).

Zinacantán -1940s: growers (de la Peña 1951:867).

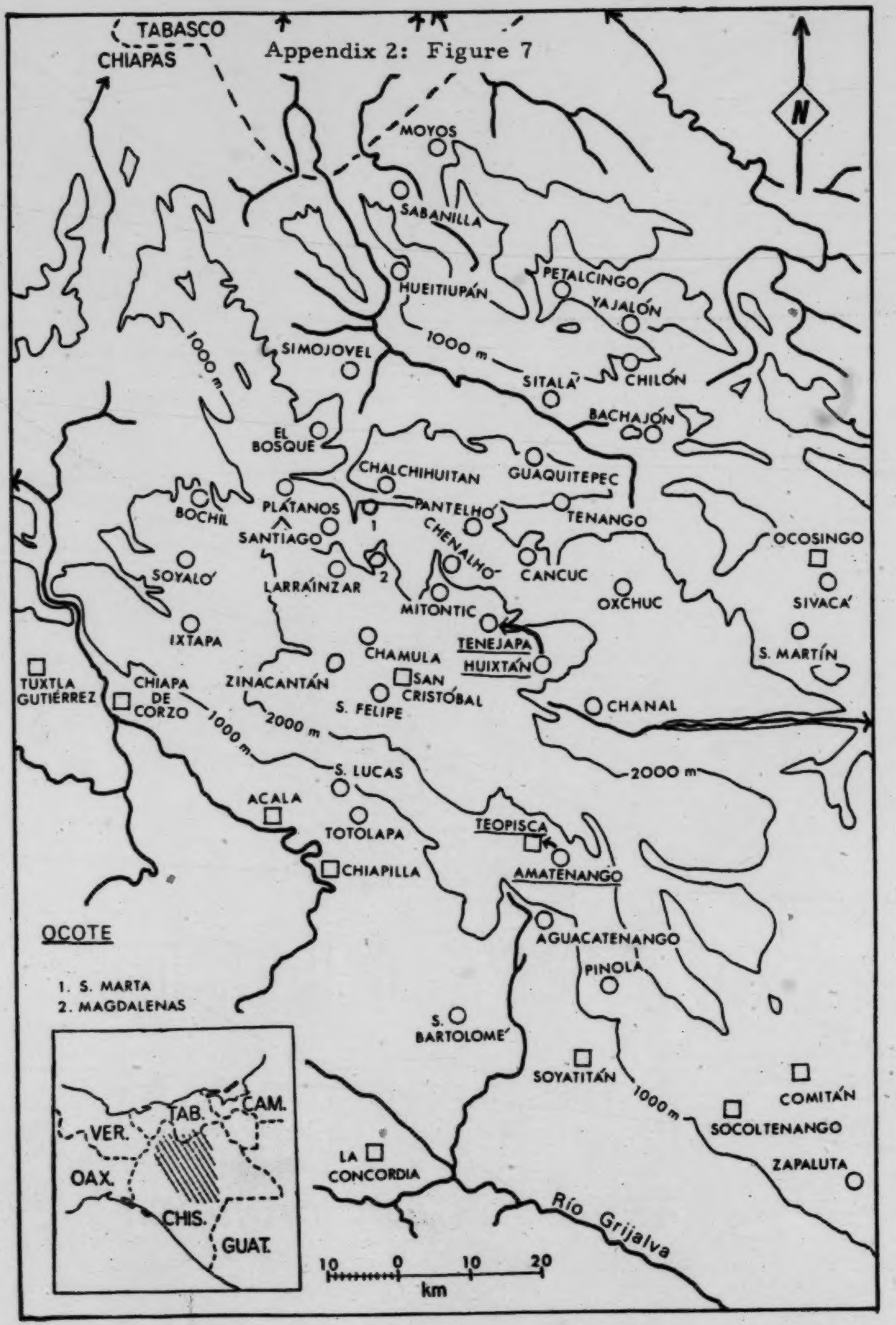
Commentary

Wheat is grown by Indians as a cash crop to sell to Ladinos, hence all wheat growing may be assumed to be for trade to local or non-local Ladinos.

Wheat growing in Oxchuc may be limited to the Ladino residents as noted in 1938 by Redfield and Villa Rojas (1939:110), especially since Siverts (1965a:156) notes that maguey is the only cash crop.

Vogt (1969a:66) states that Zinacantecos do *not* grow wheat, which suggests that the wheat-growing shown by de la Peña for the 1940s may have been restricted to Ladino fincas within the *municipio* boundaries.

Appendix 2: Figure 7


TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
2
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
OCOTE
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 7: BASIC DATA AND SOURCE

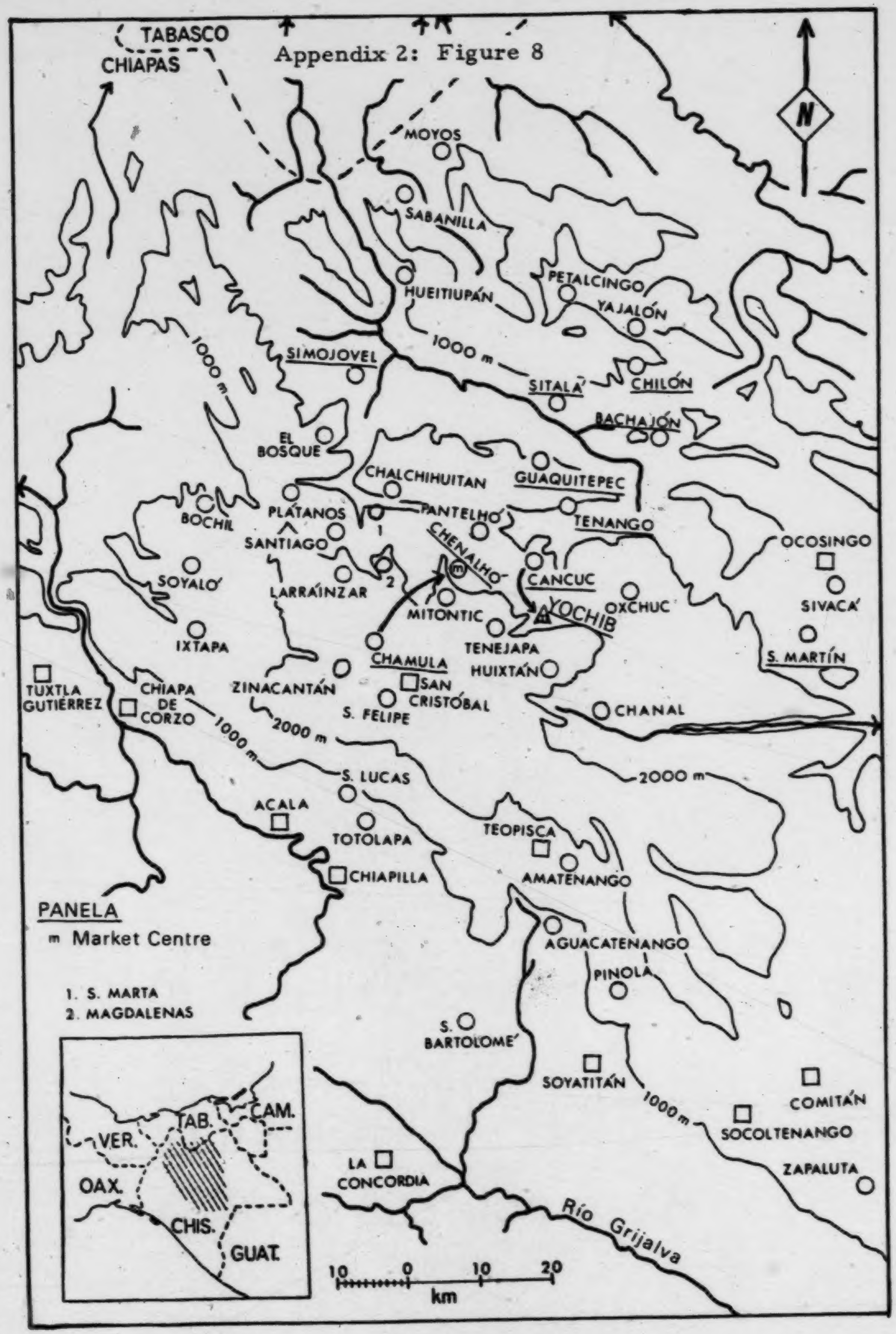
Ocote Trade

Exporting Communities	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Amatenango	-1958: charcoal and ocote (J. Nash 1969: 1/3).
Huixtán	-Dec. 26, 1943: weekly market at Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:85). -Jan. 21, 1944: fiesta market at Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:91).

Commentary

The Amatenango ocote trade was carried on by a few households of "foreign" (i.e., non-Amatenanguero) Indians settled in the Colonia San Vicente.

Appendix 2: Figure 8


TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
1
PANTELHO
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
2
CHENALHO
m
CANCUC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
YOCHIB
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
PANELA
m Market Centre
AGUACATENANGO
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 8: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

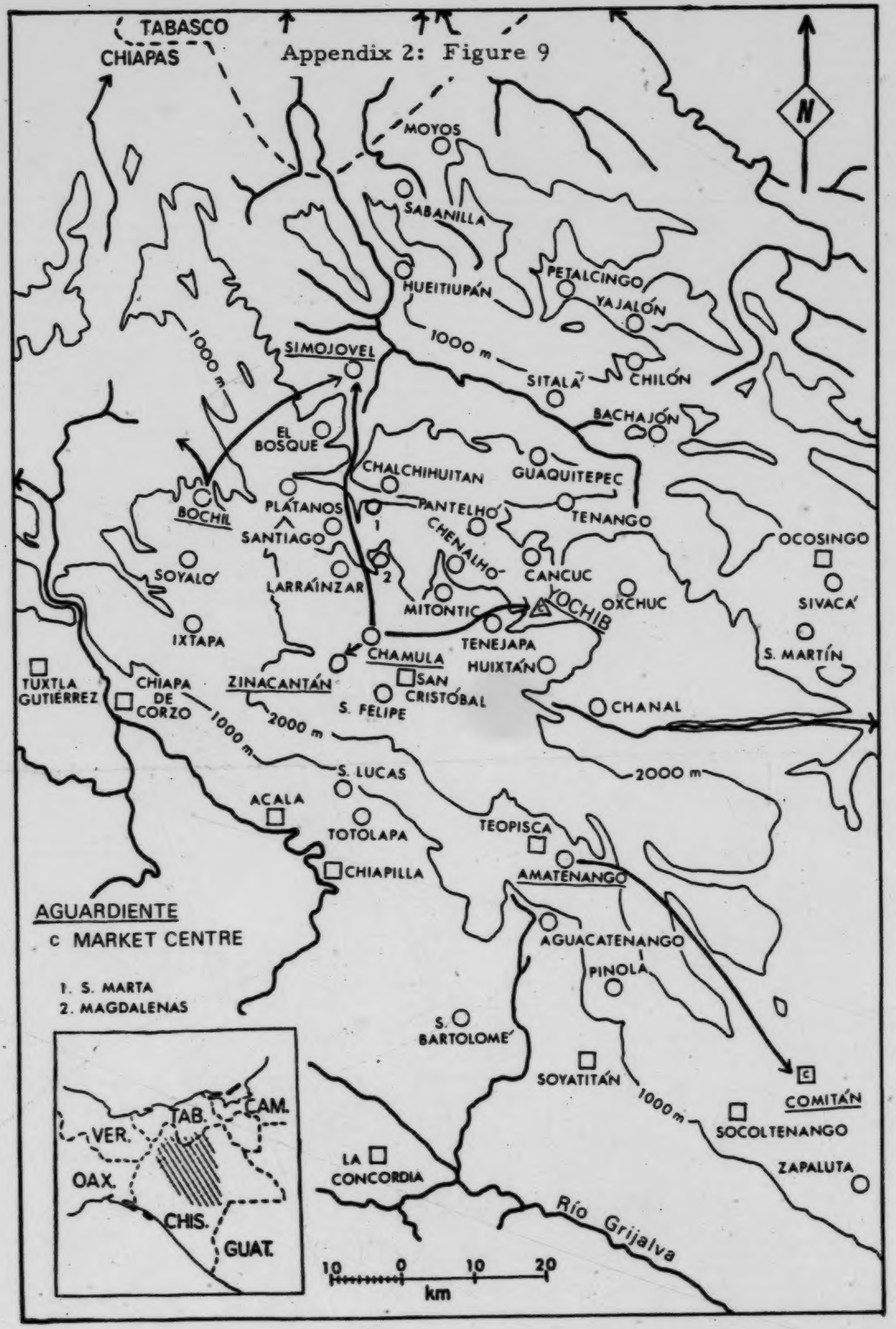
Panela Trade

Exporting Communities	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Bachajón	-1938: producer (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110).
Cancuc	-1870s: producer (Cámara Barbachano 1966:72) -May 3, 1944: producer: sold at weekly market at Yochib (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:95).
Chamula	-1940s and 1950s: sold at weekly market at Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Chilón	-1938: producer (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110).
Guaquitepec	-1938: producer (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110).
San Martín	-1870s: producer (Cámara Barbachano 1966:72).
Simojovel	-1940s: producer (de la Peña 1951:1009).
Sitalá	-1938: producer (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:110).
Tenango	-1870s: producer (Cámara Barbachano 1966:72).

Commentary

As Chamula lacks tierra caliente it is likely that the panela is sold by Chamulas acting as middlemen.

Appendix 2: Figure 9


TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
2
CANCUC
LARRAÍNZAR
MITONTIC
YOCHIB
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
S. MARTÍN
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUARDIENTE
c MARKET CENTRE
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
C
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 9: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

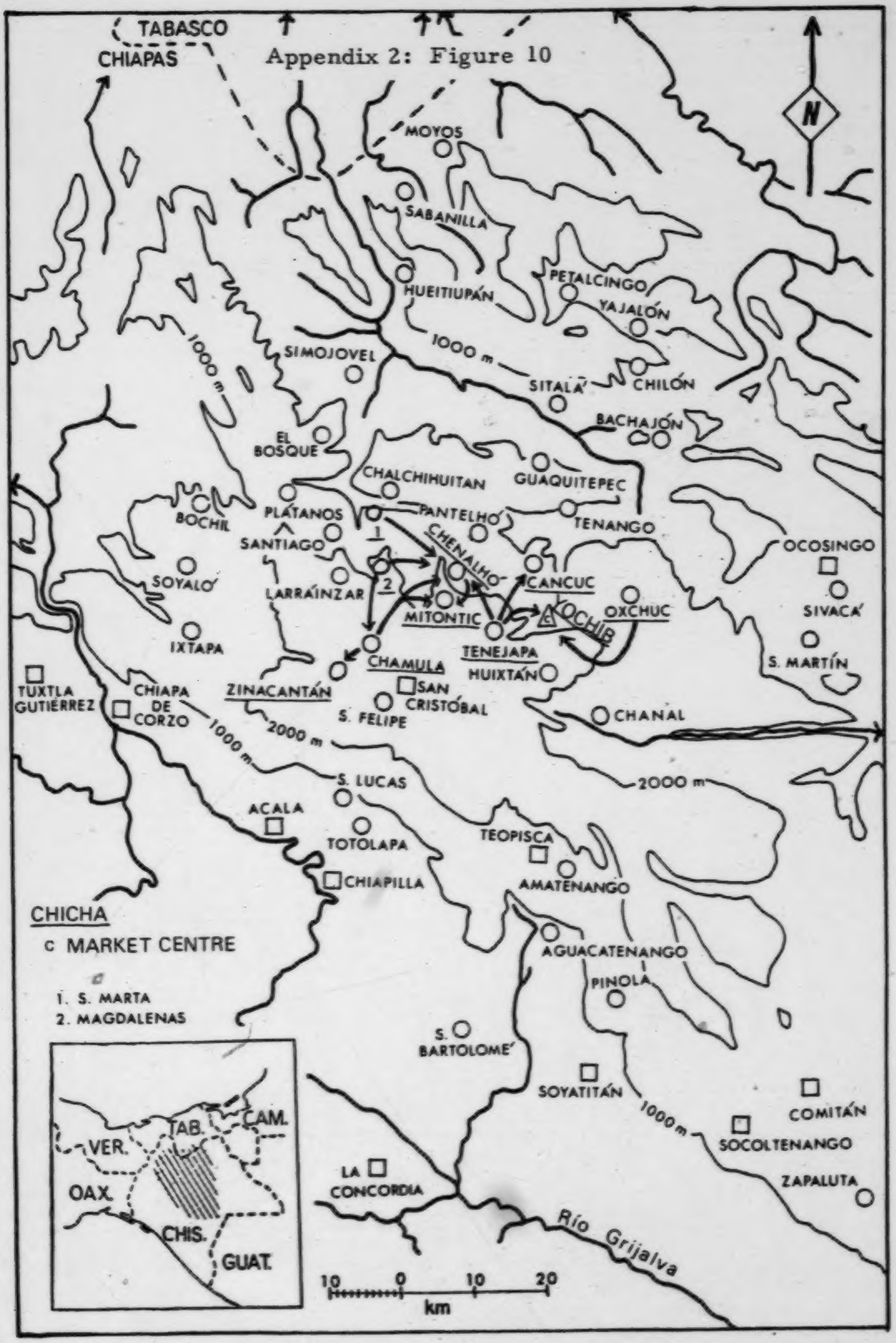
Aguardiente Producers and Exporters

Exporting Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Amatenango	-1960s: sold to Ladino middlemen "who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast" (J. Nash 1970:92).
Bochil	-1940s: sold in Simojovel and various Zoque towns (de la Peña 1951:1013).
Chamula	-1940s: *comiteco* sold by Chamula traders in Simojovel (Pozas 1959:109). -1960s: Chamula's own *aguardiente* sold to Zinacantecos (Vogt 1969a:110-111, 1970:58; Collier 1975:176). -1967-1968: *ron de caña* sold by Chamulas at Yochib weekly market (Harman 1974:92).

Commentary

See the discussion of the rise of Chamula *aguardiente* distilling in Collier (1975:175-176). *Comiteco* is the distinctive liquor produced by Ladinos at Comitán (see chapter note 5, Chapter 4).

Appendix 2: Figure 10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CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRAÍNZAR
2
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
KOCHIB
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
CHAMULA
ZINACANTÁN
HUIXTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
CHICHA
○ MARKET CENTRE
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 10: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

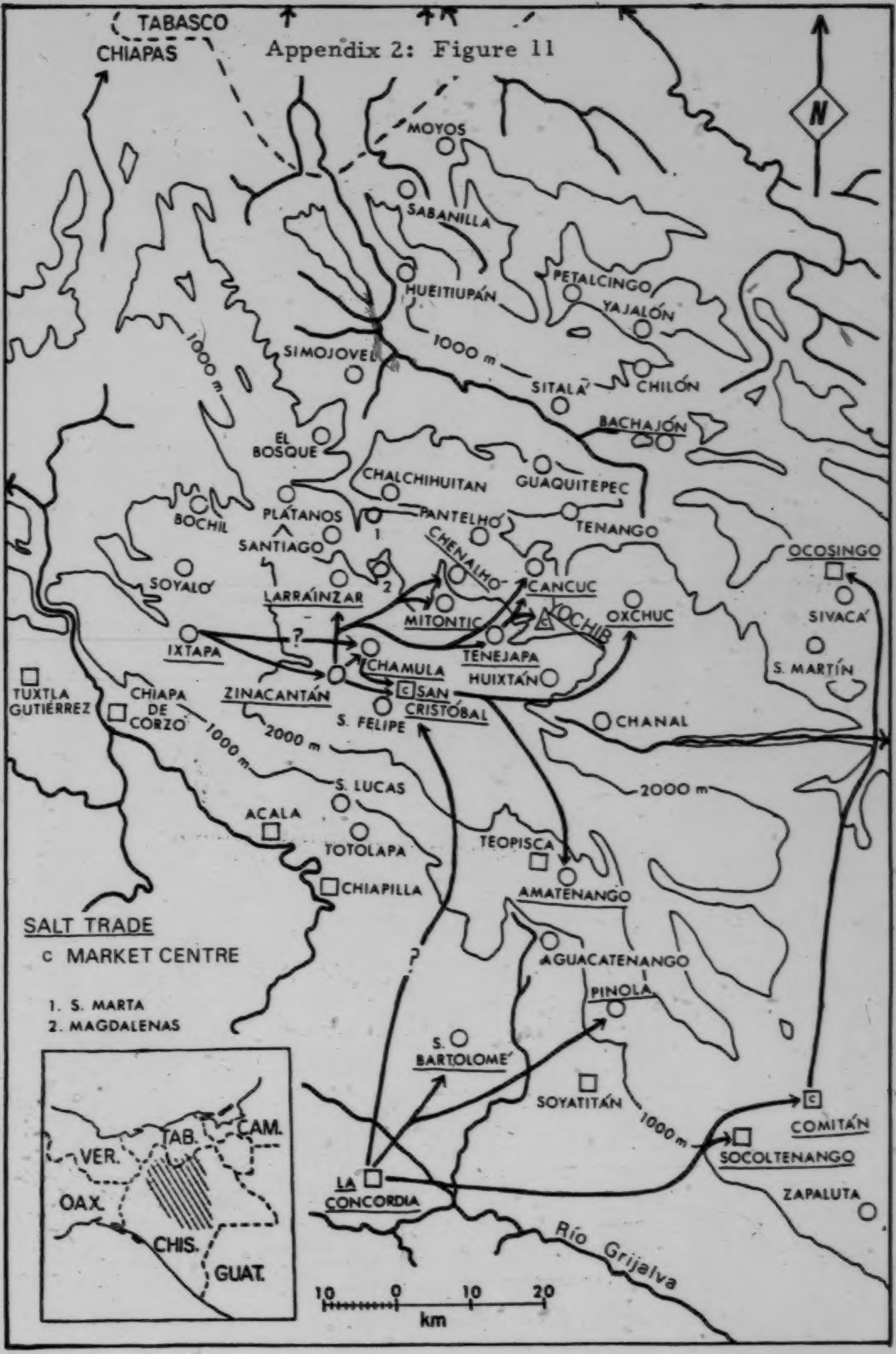
Chicha Trade

Exporting Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Chamula	-1944: "grandes cántaros de chicha" sold at weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:44, 45). -1940s and 1950s: sold at weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60). -May 5, 1944: sold at market of Fiesta de San Miguel at Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:11). -1960s: purchased by Zinacantecos at Chamula (Vogt 1969a:110-111).
Chenalhó	-May 5, 1944: sold at market of Fiesta de San Miguel at Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:11). -May 13, 1944: sold at weekly market in paraje of Chalam in Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14).
Magdalenas	-1940s: chicha bought by Chamulas in Magdalenas and resold in their own weekly market at Chamula (Pozas 1959:107). -1940s and 1950s: sold in weekly market at Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Oxchuc	-Early 1940s: sold at illegal Yochib market (Lombardo Otero 1944:lámina 20).
Santa Marta	-1944: sold at weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45). -1940s and 1950s: sold at weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Tenejapa	-April 28, 1944: sold in market of Fiesta de San Juan at Cancuc (Cámara Barbachano, as quoted by Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40). -April 18, 1943: sold at weekly Yochib illegal market (Villa Rojas 1946:551). -March 4, 1944: sold at weekly Yochib illegal market (Villa Rojas 1946:551).

-1940s and 1950s: sold at weekly market at Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).

Commentary

Since the chicha sold in Chamula by Chamulas is recorded to be purchased in Magdalenas, it seems possible that all chicha sold by Chamulas is actually purchased by them from other communities. This would explain how maize-poor Chamula can export corn-beer. See also the mention of chicha being bought at Amatenango (Gossen 1974:275).



Appendix 2: Figure 11

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
2
CANCUC
LARRÁINZAR
MITONTIC
YOCHIB
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
?
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
S. MARTÍN
ZINACANTÁN
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
c
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
SALT TRADE
c MARKET CENTRE
AGUACATENANGO
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
PINOLA
?
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
1000 m
c
COMITÁN
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
SOCOLTENANGO
OAX.
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
CHIS.
GUAT.
Río Grijalva
10
0
10
20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 11: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Ixtapa Salt Source

Salt Traders	Market, Date, Circumstances & Sources
Chamulas	-San Cristóbal: 1925: "selling cakes of salt" in daily market (Blom and LaFarge 1927:402). -Chamula: 1940s: sell salt at weekly market (Pozas 1959:106).
Ladinos	-*Paraje* of Chalam, Mitontic: 1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14). -Chenalhó: 1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1961:61).
Tenejapecos	-Cancuc: 1944: market of Fiesta de San Juan (Cámara Barbachano, as quoted by Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40). -Yochib Illegal Market: 1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:95; Villa Rojas 1946:556-557).
Zinacantecos	-Tenejapa: 1943-1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:83, 84, 100). -Chamula: a) 1940s: weekly and fiesta markets (Pozas 1959:106, 108). b) 1960s: weekly and fiesta markets (Vogt 1969a:111; 1970:58). -*Paraje* of Chalam, Mitontic: 1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14, 15). -Chenalhó: 1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:44, 1961:60). -San Cristóbal: a) 1940s: daily market (de la Peña 1951:1034-1035). b) 1950s: daily market (Siverts 1969a: 38). c) 1960s: daily market (Vogt 1969a: 111, 1970:58). -Larráinzar: 1960s: weekly market (Vogt 1970:58). -Cancuc: 1960s (Colby 1966:11).

	-Zinacantán: 1960s: fiesta markets (Vogt 1970:58).
Unidentified	-Bachajón: 1925: "salt, atsam, traded down from the Zotzil country" (Blom and LaFarge 1927:339). -Tenejapa: 1901: weekly market (Starr 1908:372-373). -1950s and 1960s: Oxchuqueros and Amatenangueros buy Ixtapa salt in daily market at San Cristóbal (Siverts 1969b:107).

Commentary on Trade in Ixtapa Salt

Zinacantecos are the primary traders of Ixtapa salt, but Chamulas also occasionally sell salt (perhaps bought from Zinacantecos) and Tenejapecos seem to buy Ixtapa salt from Zinacantecos (probably in Tenejapa) and trade it to other communities. I consider it likely that the Ixtapa salt report from Bachajón was brought down from the Highlands by Tenejapecos, as an incidental traffic to their main work as cargadores.

The salt sold by Ladinos may be Ixtapa salt purchased from Zinacantecos in San Cristóbal, or may possibly be salt from La Concordia (see below).

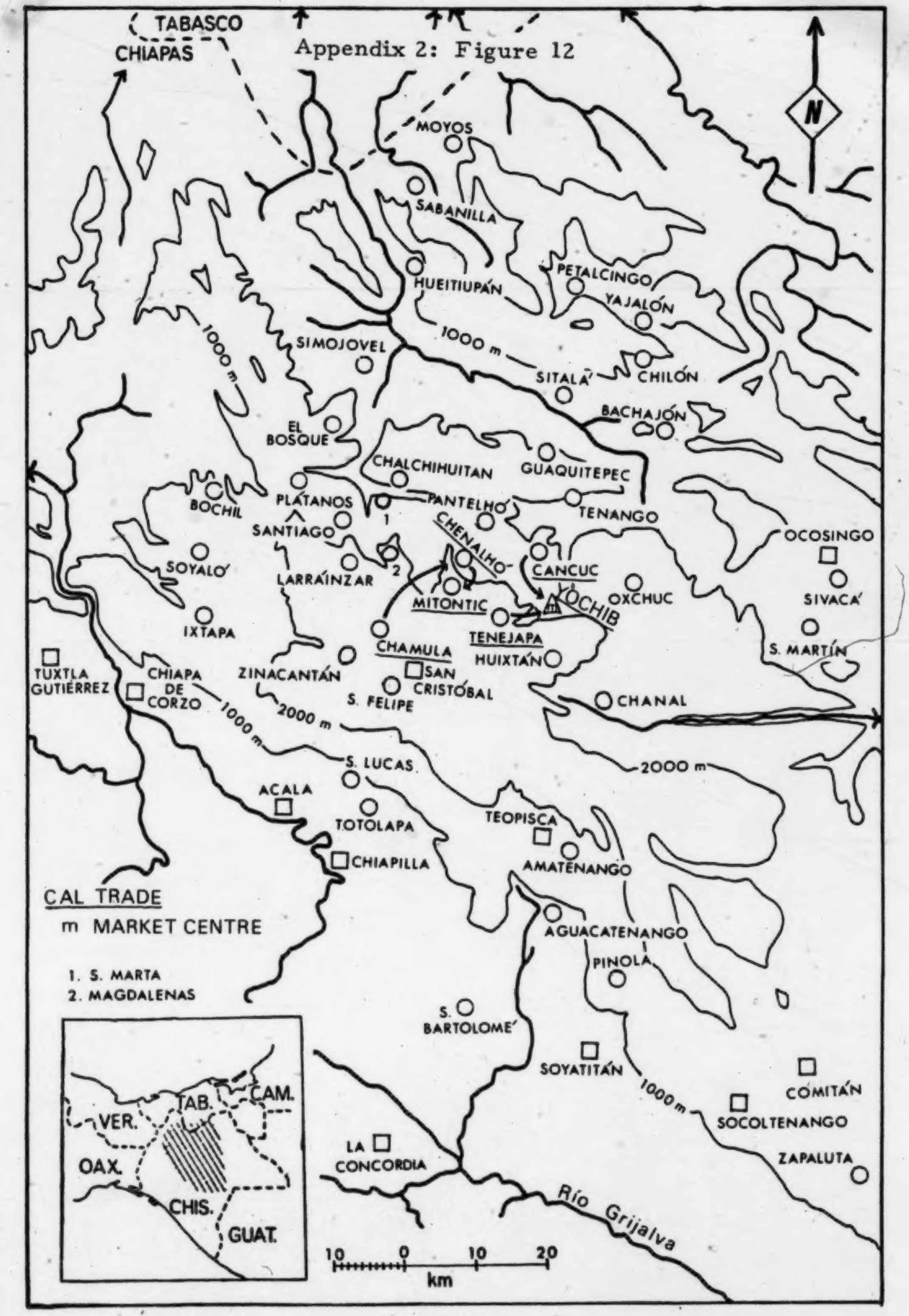
La Concordia Salt Source

This salt is traded by Ladinos to communities on the southern and eastern fringes of the Highlands.

Communities Importing Salt	Date, Circumstance and Source
Comitán	-1930s and 1940s (Corzo 1943:88). -1940s (de la Peña 1951:1208-1209.
Ocosingo	-1940s: brought in by mule train from Comitán (de la Peña 1951:1031).
Pinola	-1950s and 1960s (Wagner 1963:162). -1940s (de la Peña 1951:1208-1209).

San Bartolomé	-1940s (de la Peña 1951:1208-1209.
San Cristóbal	-1930s and 1940s (Corzo 1943:88).
Socoltenango	-1940s (de la Peña 1951:1208-1209.

Appendix 2: Figure 12

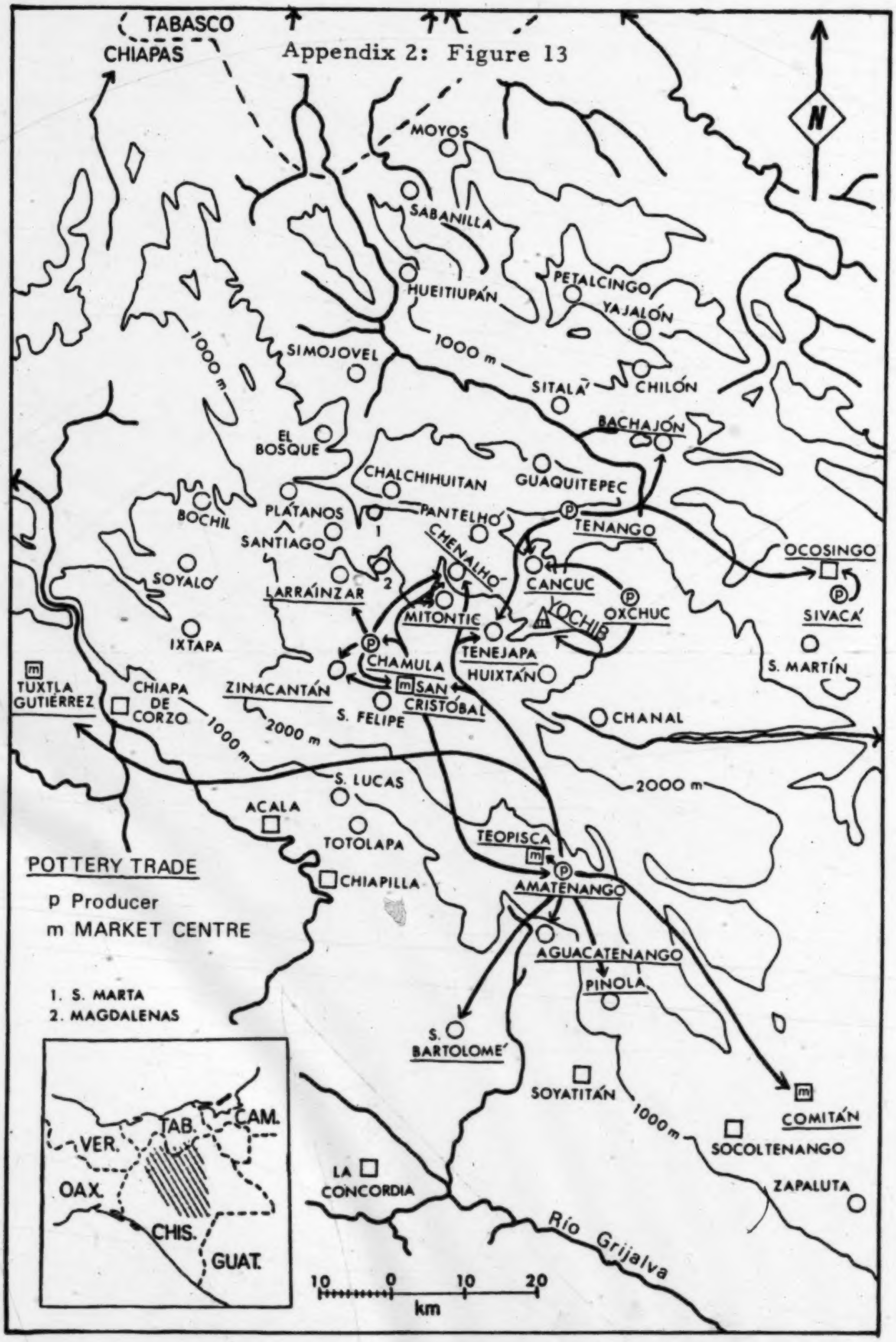

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
1
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
2
LARRAÍNZAR
CANCUC
YOCHIB
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
HUIXTÁN
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
2000 m
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
CAL TRADE
m MARKET CENTRE
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
Río Grijalva
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 12: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Cal Trade

Exporting Communities	Date, Circumstance and Sources
Cancuc	-March 4, 1944: sold in weekly Yochib illegal market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:95).
Chamula	-1940s and 1950s: sold at weekly market in Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Chenalhó	-May 14, 1944: sold at weekly market in paraje of Chalam, Mitontic (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14).
Tenejapa	-May 20, 1944: sold at weekly Yochib illegal market (Villa Rojas 1946:556-557).

Appendix 2: Figure 13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MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLATANOS
1
PANTELHÓ
P
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
2
CANCUC
P
SOYALÓ
LARRAÍNZAR
MITONTIC
YOCHIB
OXCHUC
P
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
P
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
S. MARTÍN
m
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
m SAN CRISTÓBAL
HUIXTÁN
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
S. FELIPE
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
m
P
AMATENANGO
CHIAPILLA
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
m
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
POTTERY TRADE
p Producer
m MARKET CENTRE
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10
0
10
20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 13: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Pottery Trade

Exporting Community	Market, Date, Circumstance and Sources
Amatenango	-Aguacatenango: 1950s: major fiestas (J. Nash 1969:1/11). -Amatenango: a) 1950s: Aguacatenangueros buy pottery during major fiestas (J. Nash 1969:1/11). b) 1950s: Aguacatenangueros buy pottery during casual visits (J. Nash 1969:1/10). -Comitán: a) 1950s (M. Nash 1961:189). b) 1957-1967: infrequent large scale selling at fiestas (J. Nash 1969: 1/9, 1/12-13, 1970:91-92). c) early 1960s: sell to Ladino merchants who resell to other Indians (Culbert 1965:45). -Chenalhó: 1940s and 1950s: sold by Chamulas at weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60). -Pinola: 1950s (J. Nash 1969:1/11; M. Nash 1961:189; Hill 1964:97). -San Bartolomé: 1950s (J. Nash 1969: 1/11). -San Cristóbal: a) 1925: daily market (Blom and LaFarge 1927:395). b) 1950s (M. Nash 1961:189). c) 1957-1967: frequent large scale selling in daily market (J. Nash 1969:1/9 and 1/12, 1970:91-92). d) early 1960s: sell to Ladino merchants who resell to other Indians (Culbert 1965:45). e) 1960s: daily market (Vogt 1969a: 112). -Tenejapa: 1925 (Blom and LaFarge 1927: 386).

	-Teopisca: a) 1950s: Sunday market (J. Nash 1969:1/9). b) early 1960s: sold to Ladino merchants who resell to other Indians (Culbert 1965:45). -Tuxtla Gutiérrez: 1930s (Cordry and Cordry 1941:35, 47). -Zinacantán: 1960s: Zinacantecos buy pottery in San Cristóbal (Vogt 1969a:112, 1970:58). -Early 1960s: pottery sold to Chamulas and Zinacantecos who sell it on trading trips in the Highlands (Culbert 1965:45).
Chamula	-Chamula: a) 1940s: weekly and fiesta markets (Pozas 1959:106, 108). b) 1960s: weekly and fiesta markets (Vogt 1969a:110-111). -Chenalhó: 1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45; 1961:60). -Larráinzar: 1950s: weekly market (Holland 1963:40). -San Cristóbal: a) 1940s: Chamula pottery bought by potters of San Cristóbal for glazing and resale (Pozas 1959:99). b) 1960s: daily market? (Vogt 1969a: 110-111). -Zinacantán: 1960s: Zinacantecos buy pottery at Chamula or San Cristóbal (Vogt 1969a:110-111, 1970:58).
Oxchuc	-Cancuc: 1944: weekly market and market of Fiesta de San Juan (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:39, 40). -Yochib Illegal Market: 1943-1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:95; Lombardo Otero 1944:lámina 18).
San Cristóbal (glazed pottery)	-Amatenango: 1957-1967 (J. Nash 1970:66). -Chamula: 1940s (Pozas 1959:107). -Chenalhó: 1944: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:44).

	-Paraje of Chalam, Mitontic: 1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14).
Sivacá	-Ocosingo: 1940s (Foster 1955:27).
Tenango	-Bachajón: 1925 (Blom and LaFarge 1927: 339). -Cancuc: 1944 (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:39). -Ocosingo: 1940s (Foster 1955:26). -Salto de Agua: 1925 (Blom and LaFarge 1927:386). -Tenejapa: a) 1925 (Blom and LaFarge 1927:386). b) 1944: Tenejapecos prefer Tenango pottery (Cámara Barbachano 1945a: 51). -1901: "widely sold" (Starr 1902:71).

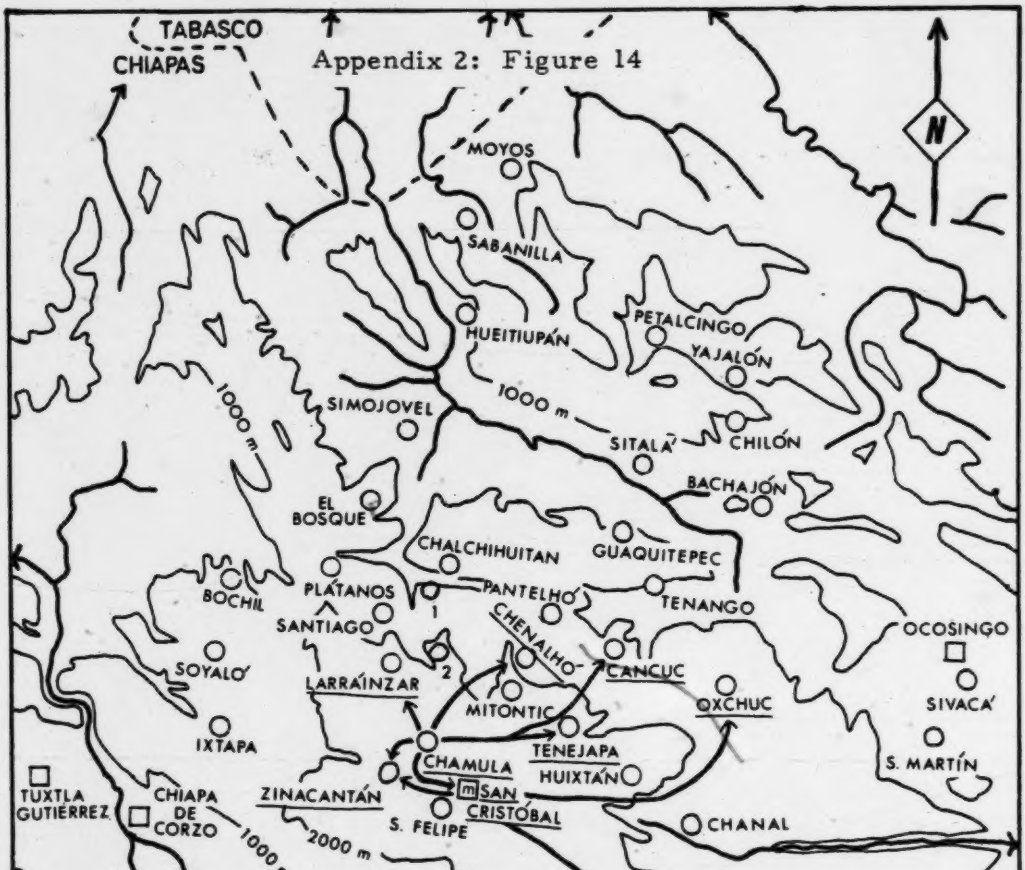
Commentary

The Amatenango pottery appearing in Tuxtla Gutiérrez was probably brought in by Chamula traders. That in Tenejapa may have been purchased by the Tenejapecos in San Cristóbal. Culbert is the only source suggesting that Zinacantecos distribute Amatenango pottery.

I am not certain that Chamulas actually sell their own pottery in the market at San Cristóbal: the statements by the sources are rather ambiguously worded.

Tenango pottery apparently has a wider distribution than that indicated above: "All through this district [Ocosingo Valley] the big cántaras or water jars are imported from Tenango. . . " (Blom and LaFarge 1927:345).

Appendix 2: Figure 14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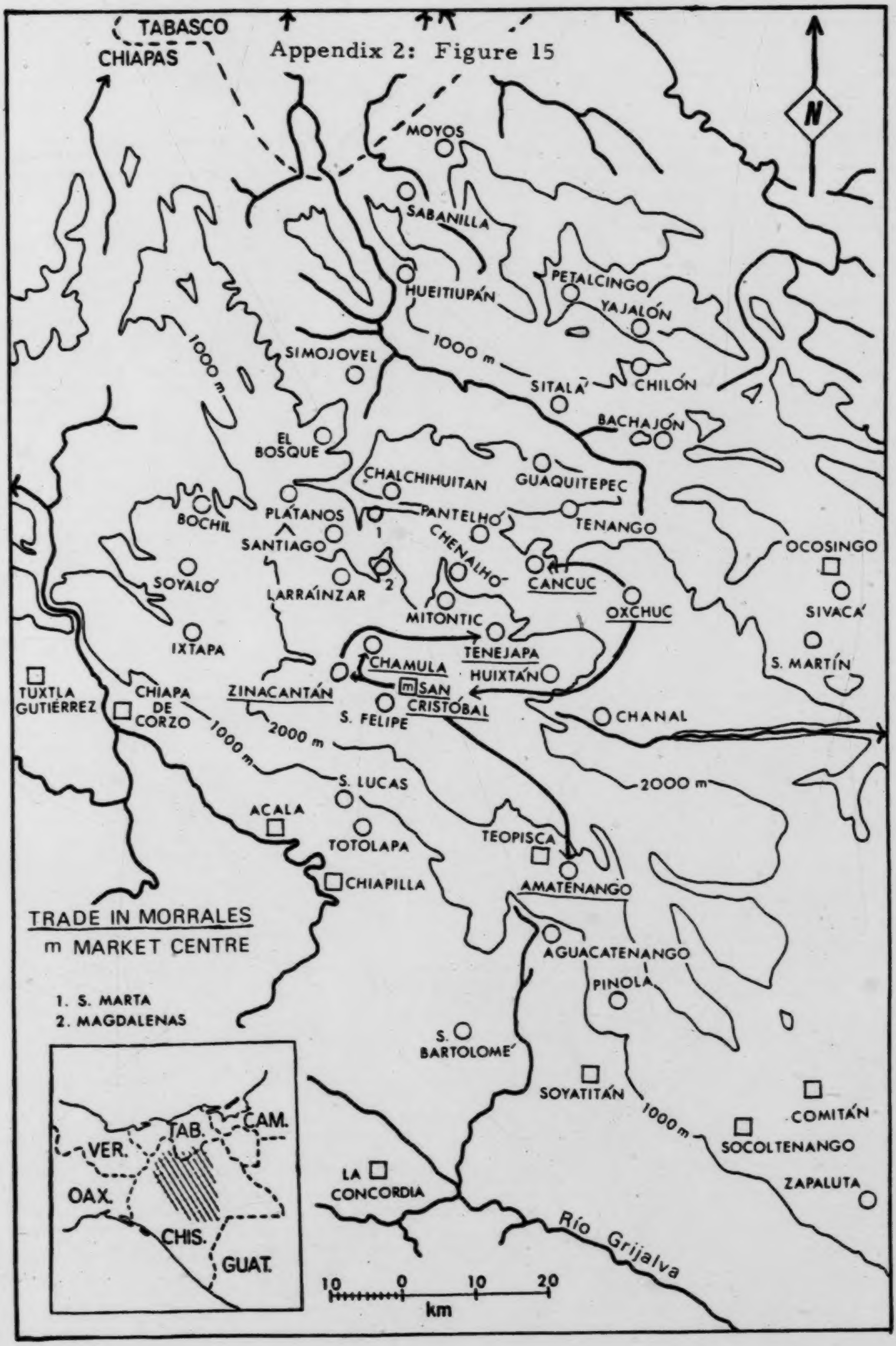
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
2
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRAÍNZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
m
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
CHAMULA WOOLENS
m MARKET CENTRE
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
10
0
10
20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 14: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Chamula Woolens Trade

Market	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Amatenango	-1960s: purchased in daily market in San Cristóbal (Siverts 1969b:107).
Cancuc	-1901 (Starr 1902:71). -1925 (Blom and LaFarge 1927:386). -1944 (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:39).
Chamula	-1960s: weekly and fiesta markets (Vogt 1969a:110-111).
Chenalhó	-1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45, 1961:60).
Larráinzar	-1950s: weekly market (Holland 1963:40).
Oxchuc	-1960s: purchased in daily market in San Cristóbal (Siverts 1969b:107).
San Cristóbal	-1901: daily market (Starr 1902:68). -1960s: daily market (Vogt 1969a:110-111; Siverts 1969b:107).
Tenejapa	-1901 (Starr 1902:70). -1925 (Blom and LaFarge 1927:393). -1943-1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:50, 84-85). -1960s (Gossen 1974:269).
Zinacantán	-1960s: purchased in Chamula and San Cristóbal (Vogt 1969a:110-111).



Appendix 2: Figure 15

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
BOCHIL
SANTIAGO
1
2
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
m SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
TRADE IN MORRALES
m MARKET CENTRE
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 15: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

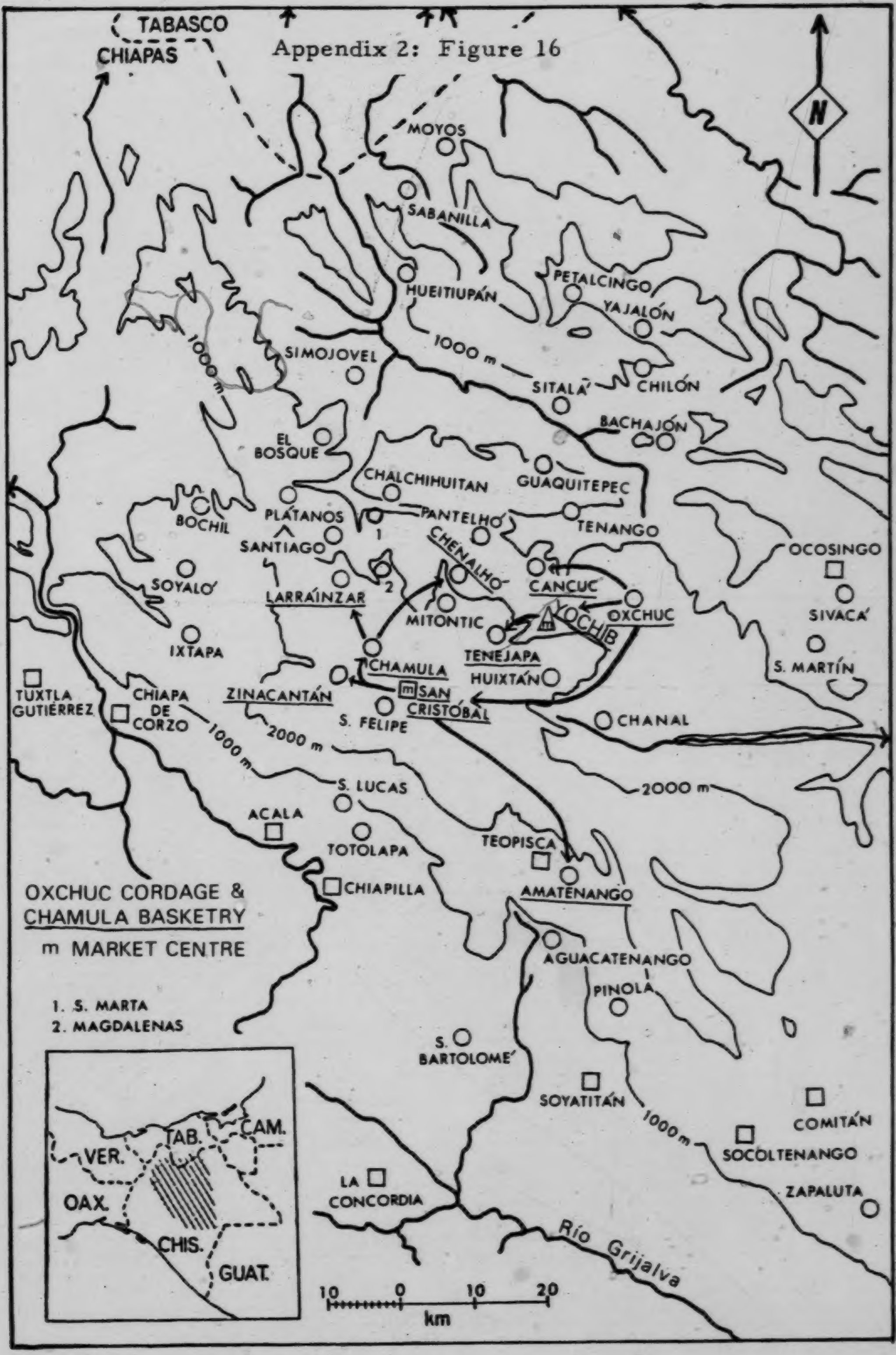
Trade in Morrales

Exporting Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Oxchuc	-1938: producer (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:111). -1940s: producer (Villa Rojas 1946:542). -1944: sold at market of Fiesta de San Juan in Cancuc (Cámara Barbachano, as quoted by Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40). -1950s and 1960s: producer (Siverts 1965a: 156). -1950s and 1960s: daily market in San Cristóbal, bought by Zinacantecos, Chamulas and Amatenangueros (Siverts 1969b:107).
Zinacantán	-1943: weekly market in Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:82).

Commentary

This is a very minor trade item, except--perhaps--for a poor community such as Oxchuc.

Appendix 2: Figure 16


TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
2
CANCUC
LARRÁINZAR
MITONTIC
OXCHUC
YOCHIB
SIVACÁ
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
CHAMULA
S. MARTÍN
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
m SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
2000 m
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
OXCHUC CORDAGE &
CHAMULA BASKETRY
m MARKET CENTRE
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 16: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

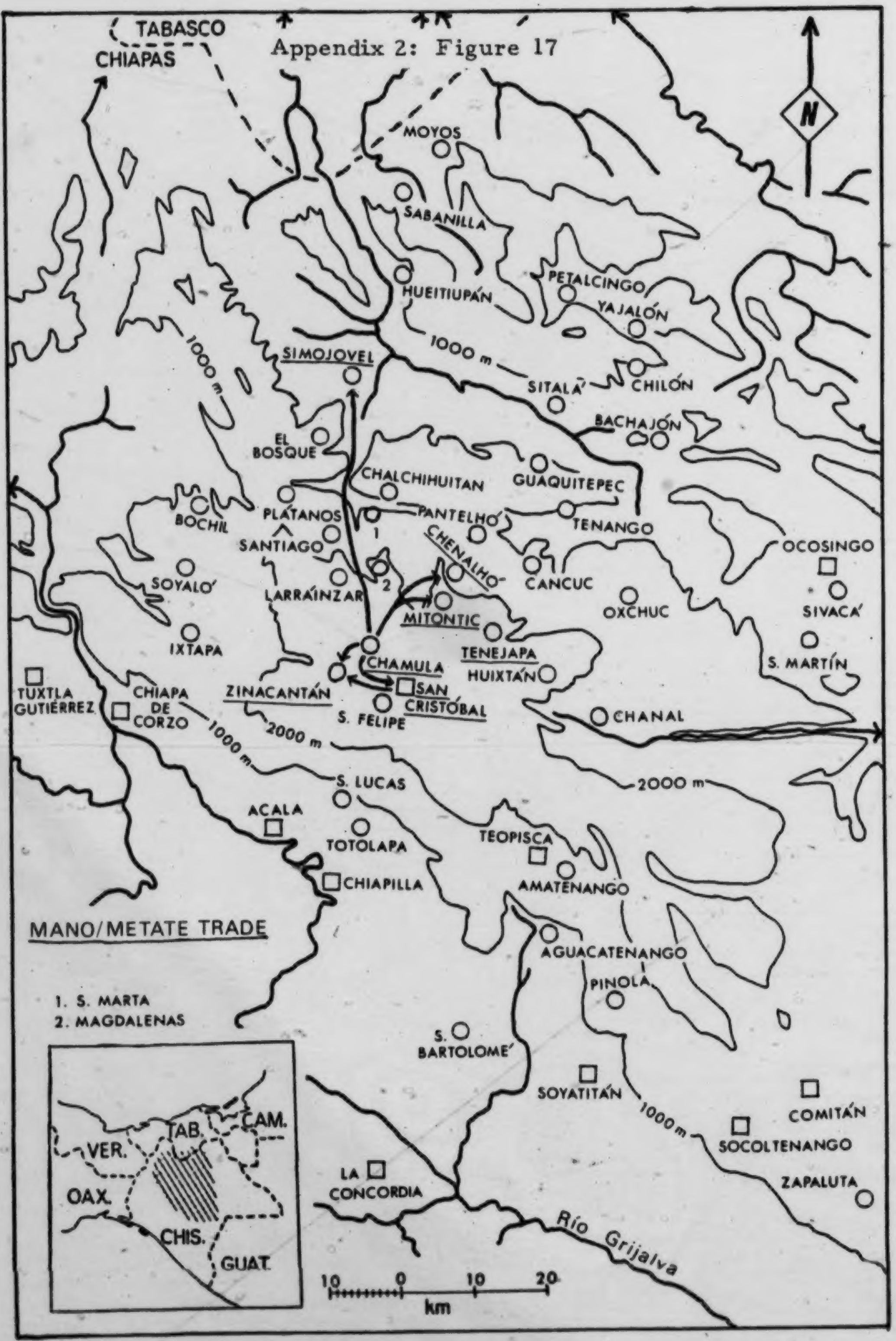
Chamula Basketry Trade

Importing Community	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Chenalhó	-1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Larráinzar	-1950s (Holland 1963:40).

Oxchuc Cordage Trade

Market	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Cancuc	-1944: weekly market and market of Fiesta de San Juan (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:40).
San Cristóbal	-1950s and 1960s: daily market, purchased by Zinacantecos, Chamulas and Amatenangueros (Siverts 1969b:107).
Tenejapa	-1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:91).
Yochib Illegal Market	-1943: weekly market (Villa Rojas 1946: 551).
(Unstated)	-1950s and 1960s (Siverts 1965a:156).

Appendix 2: Figure 17

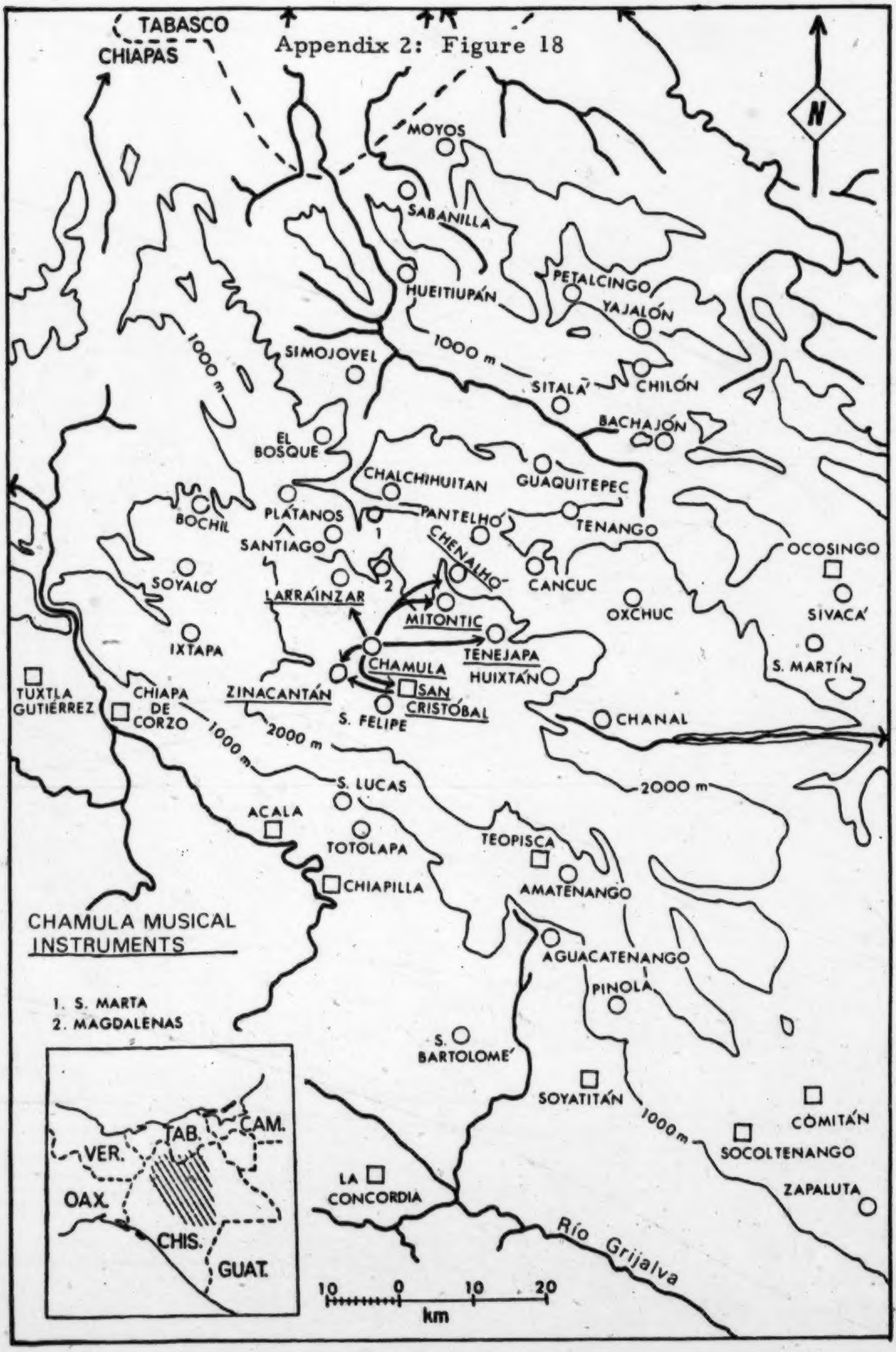

TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITÁN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
2
LARRÁINZAR
CANCUC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
CHAMULA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
HUIXTÁN
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
2000 m
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
MANO/METATE TRADE
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10 0 10 20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 17: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Mano/Metate Trade

Exporting Community	Market, Date, Circumstances and Sources
Chamula	-Chenalhó: 1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60). -*Paraje* of Chalam, Mitontic: 1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945b: 14). -Simojovel: 1940s (Pozas 1959:109). -Zinacantán: 1960s: Zinacantecos purchase in Chamula or San Cristóbal (Vogt 1969a: 110-111, 1970:53).
Tenejapa	-1938: producer (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1939:111).

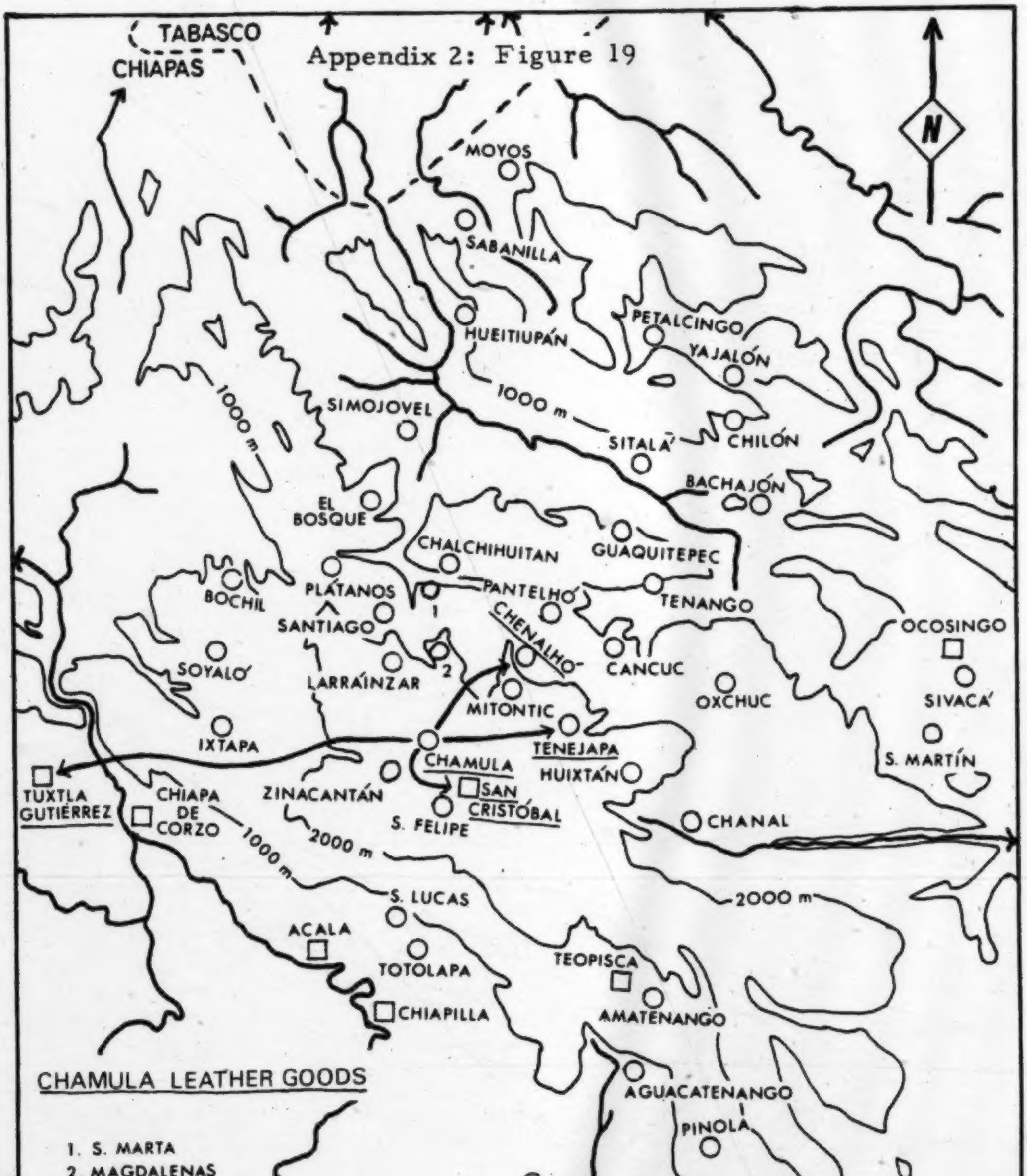
Appendix 2: Figure 18


TABASCO
CHIAPAS
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
2
CHENALHÓ
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
CANCUC
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
CHAMULA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTOBAL
HUIXTÁN
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
CHAMULA MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
Río Grijalva
10 0 10 20
km
N

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 18: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Chamula Musical Instrument Trade

Market	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Chenalhó	-1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60)
Larráinzar	-1950s: weekly market (Holland 1963:40).
Mitontic	-1944: weekly market in *paraje* of Chalam (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14).
San Cristóbal	-1901: daily market (Starr 1902:68).
Tenejapa	-1943: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:85).
Zinacantán	-1960s: purchased by Zinacantecos in Chamula or San Cristóbal (Vogt 1969a: 110-111).



Appendix 2: Figure 19

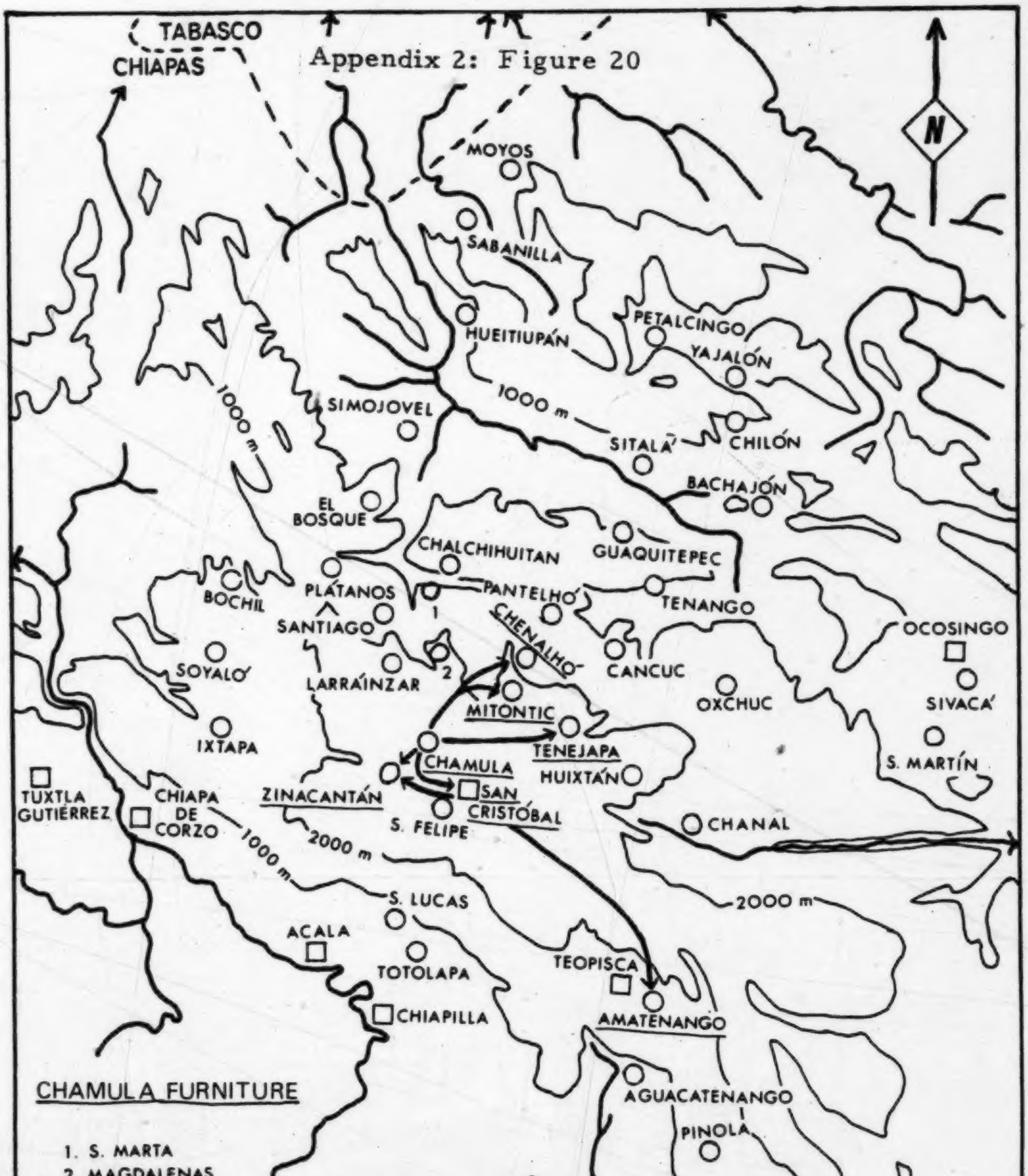
TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
1000 m
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
1
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRÁINZAR
2
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
1000 m
2000 m
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
CHAMULA LEATHER GOODS
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
1000 m
SOCOLTENANGO
LA CONCORDIA
ZAPALUTA
Río Grijalva
TAB.
CAM.
VER.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10
0
10
20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 19: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Chamula Leather Goods Trade

Market	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Chenalhó	-1940s and 1950s: weekly markets (Guiteras Holmes 1946b:45, 1961:60).
San Cristóbal	-1901: daily market (Starr 1902:68).
Tenejapa	-1944: fiesta market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:51, 91).
Tuxtla Gutiérrez	-1930's (Cordry and Cordry 1941:47).

Appendix 2: Figure 20


TABASCO
CHIAPAS
N
MOYOS
SABANILLA
HUEITIUPÁN
PETALCINGO
YAJALÓN
SIMOJOVEL
1000 m
SITALÁ
CHILÓN
BACHAJÓN
EL BOSQUE
CHALCHIHUITAN
GUAQUITEPEC
BOCHIL
PLÁTANOS
PANTELHÓ
TENANGO
SANTIAGO
CHENALHÓ
CANCUC
OCOSINGO
SOYALÓ
LARRAÍNZAR
OXCHUC
SIVACÁ
MITONTIC
IXTAPA
TENEJAPA
S. MARTÍN
CHAMULA
HUIXTÁN
TUXTLA GUTIÉRREZ
CHIAPA DE CORZO
ZINACANTÁN
SAN CRISTÓBAL
S. FELIPE
CHANAL
2000 m
S. LUCAS
ACALA
TOTOLAPA
TEOPISCA
CHIAPILLA
AMATENANGO
AGUACATENANGO
PINOLA
S. BARTOLOMÉ
SOYATITÁN
COMITÁN
SOCOLTENANGO
ZAPALUTA
LA CONCORDIA
Río Grijalva
CHAMULA FURNITURE
1. S. MARTA
2. MAGDALENAS
1
2
VER.
TAB.
CAM.
OAX.
CHIS.
GUAT.
10
0
10
20
km

APPENDIX 2: FIGURE 20: BASIC DATA AND SOURCES

Chamula Furniture Trade

Market	Date, Circumstances and Sources
Amatenango	-1957-1967 (J. Nash 1970:66).
Chamula	-1960s: weekly and fiesta markets (Vogt 1969a:110-111).
Chenalhó	-1940s and 1950s: weekly market (Guiteras Holmes 1961:60).
Mitontic	-1944: weekly market in paraje of Chalam (Cámara Barbachano 1945b:14).
San Cristóbal	-1901: daily market (Starr 1902:68). -1960s: daily market (Vogt 1969a:110-111).
Tenejapa	-1943-1944: weekly market (Cámara Barbachano 1945a:84-85).
Zinacantán	-1960s: purchased by Zinacantecos in Chamula or San Cristóbal (Vogt 1969a: 110-111, 1970:58).